

THE
HISTORY
OF
INDEPENDENCY,
WITH.
The Rise, Growth, and Practices of that
powerfull and restless FACTION.

D. AMBROSIUS.

*Nec nobis ignominiosum est pati quod passus est Christus, nec vobis
gloriosum est facere quod fecit Judas.*

TACIT.

Sceleras, sceleribus, tuenda.

VIRGILIUS.

— *sua cuique Deus fit dira libido.*

1 St. JOHN. c. 2. v. 16.

*Quicquid est in mundo est concupiscentia oculorum, concupiscentia
carnis, aut superbia vite.*



LONDON,
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БОГИИ

БОГИИ



Reader,

Gentle or ungentle, I write to all, knowing that all have now got almost an equal share and interest in this Gallymaufry or Hotchpot which our Grandee Pseudo-politicians with their negative and demolishing Councils have made, both of Church and Commonwealth: and therefore I write in a mixed Stile, in which (I dare say) there are some things fit to hold the judgments of the Gravest; some things fit to catch the fancies of the Lightest; and some things of a middle nature, applying my self to all capacities, (as far as rush will permit) because I fore-see the Catastrophe of this Tragedy is more likely to be consummated by multitude of hands, than wisdom of heads. I have been a curious observer, and diligent inquirer, after, not only the Actions, but the Counsels of these times; and I here present the result of my indeavours to thee: In a time of mis-apprehensions it is good to avoid mistakings, and therefore I advise thee not to apply what I say to the Parliament, or Army in general, if any phrase that hath dropped from my pen in hast (for this is a work of hast) seem to look as juint upon them: No, it is the Grandees, the Junto-men, the Hocas-Pocasses, the State-Mountebanks, with their Zanyes and Jack-puddings, Committee-men, Sequestrators, Treasurers, and Agitators,

The Epistle.

White-hall as they passed by, where some of them were pulled in and beaten. 2. when those Gentleman of quality that carried the Petition came to Westminster-hall, they found a Guard of Soldiers at the door, uncivilly opposing their entrance to make their addresses to the House. 3. When they pressed into the Hall, and got up to the Commons door, they were there reviled by the Guard. 4. The Multitude which stood in the new Palace, (because some of them did but whoop as others did, who were purposly set on work (as is conceived) to mix with them & disorder them) were suddenly surrounded with a strong party of Horse from the Mews, and some more Companies of Foot from White-hall, who by the appointment of the Committee of Schismatics at Derby-House were ready prepared for this design, and catched them (as it were) in a Toyle, and with barbarous and schismatical rage fell upon these naked, unarmed Petitioners, slew and wounded many without distinction, telling them, They were appointed to give an Answer to their would give Petition, and they should have no other ; (as indeed they had not) though the Lieut. Colonel that did all the mischief, was called into the House of Commons, and had publick thanks given him at the Bar, took many of them Prisoners, and Plundered their Pockets, Cloaks, Hairs, Swords, Horses, and some of them (even Gentlemen of as good quality as their General) were stripped of their Doublets. Those Gentlemen of quality who were in the Lobby before the Commons door, civily expecting an Answer, were abused, and violently driven out by the Guard, to take their fortune among the Rabble ; what Tyrants ever in the world refused to hear the Petitions and grievances of their people before ? The most Tyrannical government of the world is that of Russia, and Jo. Vasilowitch was the greatest Tyrant of that Nation, yet shall this Tyrant rise up in judgement at the latter day against these Monsters. Behold what entertainment your Petitioners shall have hereafter, if publick Peace be the end of

It is reported by some
that S. H.
Milamay,
Col. Purefoy,
& the Speaker
(doubt-
ing the Hou-
them. They were appointed to give an Answer to their
would give Petition, and they should have no other ; (as indeed they
too good an answer to
their Petition) sent for
these Horse-
and Foot:

had not) though the Lieut. Colonel that did all the mischief, was called into the House of Commons, and had publick thanks given him at the Bar, took many of them Prisoners, and Plundered their Pockets, Cloaks, Hairs, Swords, Horses, and some of them (even Gentlemen of as good quality as their General) were stripped of their Doublets. Those Gentlemen of quality who were in the Lobby before the Commons door, civily expecting an Answer, were abused, and violently driven out by the Guard, to take their fortune among the Rabble ; what Tyrants ever in the world refused to hear the Petitions and grievances of their people before ? The most Tyrannical government of the world is that of Russia, and Jo. Vasilowitch was the greatest Tyrant of that Nation, yet shall this Tyrant rise up in judgement at the latter day against these Monsters. Behold what entertainment your Petitioners shall have hereafter, if publick Peace be the end of their

The Epistle:

their desires: yet many Petitions ready drawn are sent up and down in most Counties by Committee-men, and Sequestrators, to enforce men to give thanks for the four Votes against the King; and many Petitions from Schismatics, destructive to Religion, Laws, Liberties and Property, have been obtruded upon the Houses, and received encouragement and thanks, because they tend to subvert the fundamental Government of Church and Common-wealth, and cast all into the Chaos of confusion, whereby the Grandees may have occasion to keep up this Army, and perpetuate their Tyranny and our burdens. And from these Turnulis of their own raising, the grandees pretend a necessity to keep this Army about this Town, to watch advantages against it. Cromwel having often said, This Town must be brought to more absolute obedience, or laid in the dust; in order to which, the Souldiers are now disarming the Country, and then the City is next, who being once disarmed, must prostitute their mony-baggs to these fellows, or be Plundered.

Reader, having spoken my sense to thee, I leave thee to thy own sense; submitting myself to as much Charly as God hath endowed thee withall. God that made all, preserve and amend all, This shall be the daly prayer of him that had rather die for his Country, than share with these Godly Thieves, in eating out the bowels of his Country, and enriching himself with publick spoyls.

The

Type Efficient

From the time of the first publication of the *Journal* in 1871, it has been the object of the Society to collect and publish the results of original researches in all departments of Natural History, and to do this it has issued a series of *Transactions*, which have been well received by the scientific world.

and the following day he was sent to the hospital at the same time as the other patients. He was admitted to the hospital with a diagnosis of "acute appendicitis". The following day he was operated upon and a perforated appendix was removed. The patient was discharged from the hospital on the 10th day after admission.

The History of INDEPENDENCY.



You have in *The mystery of the two Juntas*, *Pref-*
beterian and Independent, presented to your
view thele two factions, (as it were in a Cock-
pit pecking at one another) which rising origi-
nally froin the two Houses and Synod, have so
much disturbed and dislocated, in every joyn,
both Church and Common-wealth. I must now
set before you *Independency Triumphant*, rousing its self upon its
Legs, clapping its Wings, and Crowing in the midst of the Pit, with
its enemy under its feet, though not yet well resolved what use it
can or may make of its Victory.

But before I go any farther, it is fit I tell you what *Independen-*
cy is.

It is *Genu generalissimum* of all Errours, Heresies, Blasphemies,
and Schisms; A general Name and Title under which they are
all united, as *Sampson's Foxes* were by the *Tails*. And though
they have several opinions and fancies (which make their *veris-
ginous heads turn different waies*) yet profit and preferment (be-
ing their *Tails*) their last and ultimate end by which they are go-
verned (like a ship by his Rudder) and whereia they mutually
correspond; the rest of their differences being but circumstantial
are easily playster'd over with the *untempered Morter* of Hypocri-
cy by their *Rabbies* of the Assembly, and their *Grandees* of the
two Houses and Army, in whom they have an *implicite faith*.
As *Mahomet's Alchoran* was the Gallemaufry of Jew and Chri-
stian; so are they a Composition of Jew, Christian, and Turk;
with the Jew they arrogate to be the peculiar people of God,

Independency
is compounded
of *Judaism*.

the Godly, the Saints, who only have right unto the Creatures, and should possess the good things of this World, aliothers being Usurpers; a Tenant so destructive to all humane Society and civil Government, that by virtue hereof they may and do by fraud, or force, Tax, eat up with Free-quarter, couzen and plunder the whole Kingdom, and account it but robbing the Egyptians: To this purpose they overthrow all the Judicatures, Laws, and Liberties of the Land, and set up Arbitrary Committees, Martial-Law, and *Whetstone-clocks*, Ordinances in their room, made and un-made by their own over-powering faction in Parliament at pleasure, with the help and terror of their Janissaries, attending at their doors:

Christianism.

With the Christian, some of them (but not all) acknowledge the Scriptures, but so far only as they will serve their turns, to *Pharise* themselves¹⁹, and *Pubtican* all the World besides; men filled with spiritual pride, meer Enthusiastiques, of a speculative and high-flying Religion, too high for Earth, and too low for Heaven; whereas a true and fruitfull Religion like *Jacob's Ladder*, *Stat pede in terris, caput inter nubila condit*, must have one end upon earth, as well as the other in Heaven. He that acknowledgeth the duties of the first table to God, and neglecteth the duties of the second table to Man, is an Hypocrite both against God and Man.

Turcism.

With the Turk they subject all things, even Religion, Laws, and Liberties (so much cried up by them heretofore) to the power of the Sword, ever since by undermining practices and lies they have jugled the *States Sword* into the *Independent Scabbard*.

²
The E. of Essex
and S. William
Waller under-
mined to let in

The Earl of *Essex*, General of all the Parliaments Forces (a man though popular and honest, yet stubbornly stout, fitter for Action than Counsel, and apter to get a victory than improve it;) must be laid by, and his Forces reduced. The like for Sir *William Waller* and his Forces; that Commanders of *Independent* Principles and interests, with Soldiers suitable to them, might by degrees be brought into their room to reap the harvest of those crops which they had sown.

This was the ground-work of the *Independent* design, to monopolize the power of the Sword into their own hands.

This could not be better effected than by dashing the Earl of *Essex*.

Essex and Sir *William Waller* one against another : for which purpose the hot-headed Schismatique Sir *A. Heslerigge* was employed with Sir *William Waller* and some others (whose Ashes I will spare) with the E. of *Essex* to break them one upon another. This was at last effected by taking advantage of their several misfortunes ; the one at *Lipisbury in Cornwall*, the other at the *Devizes in Wilshire*, where *Heslerigge* (a man too ignorant to command, and too insolent to obey) not staying for the Foot, who lay round about the *Devizes* in a storming posture , charged up a steep hill with his Horse only , against the Lord *Wilmot's* Party , one Division so far from another , that the second Division could not relieve the first, thereby freeing Sir *Ralph Hopton* from an assured overthrow , and bestowing an unexpected Victory on the L. *Wilmot* : he received a wound in his flight , the smart whereof is still so powerfully imprinted in his memory , that he abhors fighting ever since ; witness his praying and crying out of *Gun-sho* at the Battle at *Charlton*, when he should have fought ; and his complaint openly made in the House of Commons of the Earl of *Stanford* for Bastonadoing him. Which rashness of his (if it deserve not a worse name) was so far from being discomfited , that he received not long after a gift of 65 col. from the Houle , and is lately made Governour of *Newcastle*, and 3000l. given him to repair the works there. I shall not need the Spirit of Prophecie to foresee, that the tenth part of the said 3000l. will not be bestowed upon those Works. Thus was he favoured by his party in the Houle, who were thought to look upon this action as an acceptable service.

In farther progress of this design , *Manchester* (a Lord , and therefore not to be confid'd in) was undermined and accused by his Lieut. General *Cromwel* of high Crimes, whom he again re-³ criminated with a Charge of as high a nature ; and when all men were high in expectation of the event, it grew to be a drawn battel between them, whereby , all men concluded them both guilty : *Manchester* was discarded.

Out of the ashes of these three arose that *Phoenix* (forsooth) a new moddell'd Army, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, a Gentleman of an irrational and brutish valour , fitter to follow another man's counsel than his own , and obnoxious to

The Earl of
Manchester
undermined.

Cromwell and the Independent faction (upon whose botome he stands) for his preferment , it being no dishonour to him to become the property to a powerfull Faction.

4
The Victories
of the new
model how at-
tained.

It pleased God to bestow many Victories upon this Army over the Kings Forces , then strong in bulk, but weakened by Factions, want of pay, and other distractions (wherby many of their Commanders not confiding in one another, began to provide for their future safety and subsistence) but above all , they had generally lost the peoples affections. To these their Victories, the constant pay, and supplies, and all other helps and encouragements from a concurring State , which their working and *restless* *Faction* carefully accommodated them withall (far beyond what any other Army had formerly) did much conduce , in so much as they cleared the Field , and took in all the enemies Garisons, with so much facility , that to many men they seemed rather *Canponantes bellum quam belligerantes*, to conquer with silver than with steel : a good Purse is a shrewd weapon.

5
Artifices to
make Cromwel
and his new
Model popu-
lar.

Thus this Faction having got a General fit for their turn , and a Lieutenant Generall wholly theirs in judgment and interest , were diligent to make him famous and popular , by casting upon him the honour of other mens achievements and valour. The News-books taught to speak no language but *Cromwell* and his Party ; and were mute in such actions as he and they could claim no share in: for which purpose the Presses were narrowly watched. When any great exploit was half attchieved , and the difficulties overcome , *Cromwell* was sent to finish it , and take the glory to himself, all other men must be eclipsed, that *Cromwell* (the *Knight of the Sun* and *Don Quixot* of the *Independents*) and his Party may shew the brighter.

6
The new Mo-
del new-mo-
delled by de-
grees to put the
Sword into the
hands of Schis-
maticks.

And that *Cromwells* Army might be suitable to himself , and their Designs carried on without interruption or observation of such as are not of their Principles , all the Sectaries of *England* are invited to be Reserves to this Army ; and all pretences of Scandals and crimes laid hold of at their own Councils of War, to easheer and disband the Presbyterian party, that Independents might be let into their rooms , though such as (for the most part) never drew Sword before : so that this Army (which boasteth it self for the Deliverer, nay the Conquerour of two Kingdoms) is

no more the same that fought at *Naseby*, than Sir *Francis Drakes* Ship that brought him home, can be called the same Ship that carried him forth about the Earth, having been so often repaired, and thereby suffered so many subtractions and additions, that hardly any part of the old vessel remained. It was therefore nominally and formally, not really and materially the same.

The said mystery of the two Juntoes farther tells you, that the Independent Junto bottomed all their hopes and interests upon keeping up this Army; whereby to give the Law to King, Kingdom, Parliament and City, and to establish that Chimera called *Liberty of Conscience*. That this was *Cromwells* ambition formerly, the Earl of *Manchester's* aforesaid Charge against *Cromwel* (though let fall without prosecution, left so great a mystery should be discovered) makes it probable, and his later practices upon which I now fall makes it infallible.

The Houses long since (for ease of the people) in a full and free Parliament, ordained the disbanding of this Army, only 3000. Horse, 1000. Dragoons, and some few Fire-locks to be continued in pay for safety of this Kingdom, and some of them to be sent for *Ireland*: for which purpose they borrowed 200000l. of the City, (being the same sum which disbanded the Scots) and for the rest of their Arrears, they were to have Debenters and security without all exceptions; such terms of advantage as no other disbanded Souldiers have had the like, neither are these like to attain to again: so that they have brought the Souldiers into a loss, as well as into a labyrinth; their continuing in arms without, nay against lawfull Authority, being a manifest act of Treason and Rebellion, and so it is looked upon by the whole Kingdom; nor can the Parliaments subsequent Ordinances, (which all men know to be extorted by force, as hereafter shall appear) help them.

To the passing of this Ordinance, *Cromwells* Protestations in the House with his hand upon his brest, *In the presence of almighty God, before whom he stood, that he knew the Army would disband and lay down their Arms at their dore, whensoever they should command them*, conduced much: this was maliciously done of *Cromwel* to set the Army at a greater distance with the Presbyterian Party, and bring them and the Independent party nearer together;

The Army
voted to be dis-
banded
through *Crom-
wels* craft.

together; he knew the Army abominated nothing more than Disbanding and returning to their old Trades, and would hate the Authors thereof.

3. *Ireton's rais'd by Cromwell.* And at the same time when he made these protests in the House, he had his Agitators (*Spirits* of his and his Son *Ireton's* conjuring up in the Army, though since conjured down by them without re-quital) to animate them against the major part of the House (under the notion of *Royalists*, a *Malignant partie* and *Enemies to the Army*) to ingage them against Disbanding and going for Ireland, and to make a Traiterous Comment upon the said Ordinance, to demand an *Act of Indemnity*, and relié upon the advice of Judge *Jenkins* for the validity of it, and to insist upon many other high demands, some private, as *Souldiers*; some publique, as *States-men*.

4. *The beginning of the proj & purge the Bules.* 10. *The Army put into mutiny against the Parliamēt, where by Cromwell monopolizeth the Army.* And at the same time when he made these protests in the House, he had his Agitators (*Spirits* of his and his Son *Ireton's* conjuring up in the Army, though since conjured down by them without re-quital) to animate them against the major part of the House (under the notion of *Royalists*, a *Malignant partie* and *Enemies to the Army*) to ingage them against Disbanding and going for Ireland, and to make a Traiterous Comment upon the said Ordinance, to demand an *Act of Indemnity*, and relié upon the advice of Judge *Jenkins* for the validity of it, and to insist upon many other high demands, some private, as *Souldiers*; some publique, as *States-men*.

5. *Cromwell's family in the Army.* Cromwell having thus by mutinying the Army against the Parliament, made them his own, and monopolized them, (as he did formerly his Brew-house at *Ely*) which he might easily do, having before-hand filled most of the chief Offices in the Army with his own kinred, allies, and friends (of whose numerous family Lieut. Col. *Lilburn* gives you a list in one of his Books.) he now flies to the Army, doubting (his practices discovered) he might be imprisoned: where he and *Ireton* assuming Offices to themselves, acted without Commission; having not only been ousted by the self-denying Ordinance, (if it be of any power against the godly) but also their several Commissions being then expired; and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* having no authority to make General Officers, as appears by his Commission (if he make any account of it) and therefore *Sprig*, alias *Nathaniel Finer*, in his Legend or Romance of this Army, called *Anglia Rediviva*, sets down two Letters sent from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to the Speaker *William Lenthal*, one to desire *Cromwell's* continuance in the Army, another of thanks for so long forbearing him from the House: See *Ang. Red. p. 10, 11, 29.* which needed not, had he bee an Officer of the Army.

6. *Cromwell himself, were sent to some Counties, to be subscribed against supposed* And now both of them bare-faced, and openly, joyn with the Army at *Newmarket*, in trayterous Engagements, Declarations, Remonstrances, and Manifesto's; and Petitions penn'd by *Cromwell* himself, were sent to some Counties, to be subscribed against supposed

supposed Obstructors of justice , and invaders of the peoples Liberties in Parliament ; and the Army at Newmarket and Tripole-House prompted to cry, justice, justice, against them; and high and treasonable demands, destructive to the fundamental Privileges of Parliament were publickly insisted upon ; many of which for quietnes sake , and out of Compassion to bleeding Ireland, were granted ; yet these restless spirits (hurried on to farther designs) made one impudent demand beget another , and when by Letters and otherwise they had promised , *That if their then present demands were granted, they would there stop and acquiesce* ; yet when they seemed to have done, they had not done, but deluded and evaded all hopes of Peace by mis-apprehension , and mis-construction of the Parliaments concessions; making the mis-interpretations of one grant, the generation of another demand , so that almost ever since the Parliament hath nothing else to do but encounter this *Hydra*, and roll this stone.

Having thus debatched the Army, he plotted in his own Chamber the securing the Garisons , Magazine , and Train of Artillery at Oxford , and surprizing the Kings person at Holdenby ; which by his instrument Coronet Joyce , with a commanded party of Horse he effected ; and when Joyce (giving Cromwel an account of that action) told him, *He had now the King in his power* ; well (replied Cromwel) *I have then the Parliament in my Pocket*. O insolent Slave ! O Slavish English ! thus to suffer your King and Parliament , together with your Wives and Children , Religion , Laws , Liberties and Properties , to be Captivated by so contemptible a Varlet. If our Noble Ancestors (who vindicated their Liberties , and got Magna Charta by the Sword) shall look down from Heaven , and see their Posterity so cowardly resign them to a handfull of bloody , cheating Schismaticks, they will not own us , but take us for Russian Slaves , French Peasants , and cry out , that we are a Bastard brood , *Servi natura* , born for bondage ; yet afterwards (having recourse to his usual familiarity with Almighty God) Cromwel used his name to protest his ignorance and innocence in this busines , both to the King and Parliament , adding an execration upon his Wife and Children to his protestation ; yet Joyce is to free from punishment , that he is since preferred , and his Arrears paid by their means ;

13 Securing OZ.
ford, and plun-
dering the
King from
Holdenby.

means ; and though both Houses required the Army to send his Royall Person to *Richmond*, to be there left in the bands of the Parliaments Commissioners, whereby both Kingdoms might freely make addresses to him, (for they had formerly excluded and abused the Scots Commissioners, contrary to the law of Nations, and Votes of both Houses, and yet then granted free access to the most desperate persons of the *Kings Party*) yet they could obtain no better answer from these *Rebellious Saints*, than

Manifesto of the Army June 27. 1647. *That they desired no place might be proposed for His Majesties residence nearer London, than where they would allow the Quarters of the Army to be.* This was according to their old threats of marching up to *London*, frequently used when any thing went contrary to their desires ; they knew what dangerous and troublesome guests we should find them here.

How much is this Army degenerated since *Cromwel* and his demure white-livered Son-in-law *Ireton* poisoned their manners with new principles ? *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 247. tells us, that about *Woodstock* private overtures were made by some from Court for receiving his Majesty, who was minded to cast himself upon the Army ; but such was their faithfulness in that point, that conceiving it derogatory to the honour and power of Parliament, (for his Majesty to wave that highest Court, and address himself to any others) and therefore inconsistent with their trust and duty, being Servants of the State, they certified the Parliament thereof, and understanding it to be against their sense also, they absolutely refused to be tampered with. Oh, how faithfull then ! how perfidious and *Cromwellized* are they now ! let their frequent tampering with the King and His party, to the amazement of the Kingdom, and the abusing of the King testify. Read *Purney Projects* written by a considerable Officer of the Army, and a friend to *Cromwel*, though not to his false practices.

¹⁴ Having thus gotten the King (the first and most visible legal authority of England) into their possession, their next design is to get the Parliament (the second legal authority of England) into their power.

¹⁵ Purg the Their project to keep the Parliament in Wardship. This could not be effected but by purging the two Houses of Presbyterian Members (especially the most active, and such as had laboured their disbanding) that an Independent Parliament and Army

Army might govern the Kingdom : In order to which design they sent to the House of Commons in the name of Sir Thomas Fairfax ¹⁶ Accusing the and the Army, a general and confused Charge of High Treason in Members, and other mis-demeanours against eleven Members, for things done (for the most part in the House) and many of the principal, such as the House had long before examined and acquitted them of, and such as the whole Kingdom knows Cromwell and Ireton to be apparently guilty of; as, Trucking with the King, &c.

One chief Article insisted upon in the Charge was, *That by their power in the House, they caused the Ordinance for Disbanding this Army to passe.* Here you see where the shooe wrings them ; This Charge was not subscribed by any informer that ingaged to make it good, or else to suffer punishment, and make the House and the parties accused, reparation: as b y the Stat. 25. Ed. 3. c. 4. 27. Ed. 3. c. 18. 38. Ed. 3. c. 9. 17. R. 2. c. 6. 15. H. 6. c. 4. but especially by 31. H. 6. c. 1. concerning Jack Cade (which comes nearest this case) ought to be; and they protested in the 23.4. Article of their Charge, *That they were dis-obligeed and discouraged from any farther engagement in the Parliament service, or Irelands preservation; And demanded the House should forthwith suspend the impeached Members from any longer sitting and acting.* Whereupon, the House after full debate in a full and free Parliament, Resolved, June 25. 1647. *That by the Laws of the Land no judgment could be given for their suspension upon that general Charge, before particulars produced, and proofs made;* Yet the Army (which had now learned only to acquiesce in their own prudence and justice) insolently threatned to march up to Westminster against the Parliament, in case the said 11 Members were not suspended; and courted the City of London to sit Newters, and let them worke their will with the Parliament.

The 11 impeached Members therefore modestly withdrew to free the House from such danger, as they might incur by protec¹⁷ting them, as in Justice and Honour they were bound to do : After this, the Army sent in their particular Charge; and libelously published it in print by their own Authority. To which the 11 Members sent in, and published their Answer. Upon which there hath been no prosecution, because they pretend first

Threats to march up to London.

London sent to Newters.

to settle the Kingdom , but if they stay till these fellows have either authority, will, or skill to settle the Kingdom, they shall not need to make ready for their tryal till Dooms-day ; Here you have a whole Army for Accusers, and the chief Officers of the Army (being Members of the House) not only accusers, but parties, Witnesses, and Judges, and carrying the Rules of Court, and Laws by which they judge, in their Scabards. And the Charge of Impeachment, such (as all men know) *mutatis mutandis* are more suitable to Cromwells and Iretons actions, than the accused Parties. If the proceeding in the Kings name against the 5 Members mentioned in *The exact Collection. part. 1. p. 38.* were Voted *A Traitorous design against King and Parliament*, and the arresting any of them upon the Kings Warrant , an *Act of publick enmity against the Common wealth* : How much more Treasonable were their proceedings; and the Armies March towards London to enforce them ; and their arresting *Anthony Nichols*, having the Speakers Passe, and leave of the House ; Colonel Burch, being upon service of the Parliament going for Ireland ; and Sir *Samuel Luke*, resting quiet in his own House ?

¹⁹ Whilst those things were acting, Cromwel finding he could not have his will upon the Parliament , but that he must make the City of London (who had denied the neutrality) his Enemies, cast about how to cheat the Country people of their affections ; (for to have both City and Country his Enemies in the posture his Army was then in , was dangerous) he therefore by many Printed Books and Papers , spread all England over by his Agitators , and by some Journey-men Priests (whose *Pulpits* are the best *Juglers boxes* to deceive the simple) *Absalom* like, wooeth them to make loud Complaints of the pressures and grievances of the People : to neglect the King and the Parliament ; and make Addresses to the Army as their only Saviours , the Arbitrators of Peace, Restorers of our Laws, Liberties and Properties, Setlers of Religion, Preservers of all just interests : pretended to settle the King in his just Rights and Privileges ; to uphold the Privileges of Parliament, establish Religion , to reform , and bring the Army, and to account all Committees, Sequestrators, and all others that had defiled their fingers with publick money, or goods; To free the people from that all devouring Excise and other Taxes ; to redress,

²⁰ Courting and cheating the Country and all their interests to full them asleep till the Grandees had wrought their will upon the City and Houses.

²¹ Petitions to the Army, and to account all Committees, Sequestrators, and all others that had defiled their fingers with publick money, or goods; To free the people from that all devouring Excise and other Taxes ; to redress,

dresse undue elections of Members ; To relieve Ireland : Things impossible to be performed by an Army , and now totally forgotten ; so that they have only accepted of their own private demands as Souldiers ; That the Parliament should own them for *their Army* ; Establish pay for them ; put the whole *Milieus* of this Kingdom, and *Ireland* both by Sea and Land , into their Hands , and Vote against all opposite Forces . But they are now become the only Protectors of all corrupt Committee-men , Squestrators , Accomplices to the State , and all other facinorous persons , who comply with them to keep up this Army , for their own security against publick justice :

Having thus courted and cheated all the publick and just Interests of the Kingdom , they deceived the people so far as to make them *Issacher-like* , patiently to bear the *burden of free quarter* , and to make addresses to the Army for themselves ; by Petitions , to which they gave plausible answers , That *thus* , and *this* was the sense of the Army : As if the sense of the Army had been the supreme Law of the Land , and to make addresses to the Parliament for the Army not to be disbanded , (for which purpose their Agitators carried Petitions ready penned to be subscribed in most Counties .)

The People being thus lulled asleep , they now cast about how to make benefit of a joyst quarrel both against the Parliament and City , (since they could not separate them) or at least against the Pre-barterian party in both ; they had withdrawn their quarters (in a seeming obedience to Parliaments commands) 30 miles from London (of which they often brag in their Papers) and presumed the suspension of the 11. Members , had struck such an awfulness into the Houses , that most of the Presbyterian Members would either absent themselves , (as too many indeed did) or turn Renegadoes from their own principles to them : but found themselves notwithstanding opposed , and their desires retarded (beyond their expectation) by the remainder of that party . They must therefore find out a quarrel to march against the City , and give the Houses another Purge , stronger than the former .

The Army being principled , and put into a posture suitable to Cromwells desire , and the Country charmed into a dull sleep , now was his time to pick a quarrel with the City , that what he could

not obtain by fair means, he might obtain by foul; to make the desert and divide from the Parliament, and leave it to be modelled according to discretion of the Souldiery. He could not think it agreeable to policy, that the City which had slain his Compeer and fellow Prince *Wat Tyler* (the Idol of the Commons in *Richard* the second's time) and routed his followers (four times as many in number as this Army) (should be trusted with their own *Militia*, the City being now far greater, more populous and powerfull than in his days. In a full and free Parliament upon mature debate, both Houses by Ordinance (dated 4 May 1647.) had established the *Militia* of the City of *London* for a year, in the hands of such Citizens, as by their Authority and approbation were nominated by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council; and though the Army had recruited it self without Authority, and had got themselves invested with the whole power of all the Land forces of the Kingdom in pay of the Parliam so that there was nothing left that could be formidable to them but *their own crimes*; and that it was expected they should go roundly to worke upon those publick remedies they had so often held forth

See the Letter and Remonstrance from Sir Tho. Fairfax and the Army, p. 8. 9.
 to the people in their popular Printed Papers: Yet the Army (contrary to what they promised to the City in their Letter to *Inve*, and their Declaration or Representation, 14 June, 1647. *That they would not go beyond their desires at that time expressed, and for other particulars would acquiesce in the Justice and wisdom of the Parliament* (behold their modesty!) by a Letter and Remonstrance from Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Army, with unresisted boldness demanded the *Militia* of the City of *London* to be returned into other hands, without acquainting the City or their Commissioners (then resident in the Army to keep a good correspondence with them) therewith; upon which Letter alone, the House of Commons (being very thin, and many Members driven away by menaces) upon *July* 22. Voted the repealing the said Vote of 4. May, and a new Ordinance for reviving the old *Militia*, presently passed and transmitted to the Lords, the same day about seven of the clock at night, and there presently passed without debate, though moved by some to be put off until the City (whose safety and privileges it highly concerned) were heard what they could say to it.

Observe

Observe that neither by the said Paper from the Army; nor by any man in the two Houses, any thing was objected against any of the new *Milicia*.

And indeed, formerly the Parliament never made choice of, enlarrd, or changed the City *Militia*, but they were still pleased first to communicate the same to the Common-Council; a Respect justly shewed to that City which had been such good friends to them; but of late, since the Parliament have shifted their old Principles and Interests, they have learned to lay by their old Friends. The pretence of this hasty passing the Ordinance, was to prevent the Armies so much threatened march to London, if the Houses refused to pass it; and the Cities opposition, if not passed before their notice of it. But the real design was to strike a discontent and jealousie into the City, therby to force them to some act of self-defence, which might give a colour to the Army to march up against them, and their friends in the Houses.

The unexpected news of this changing their *Milicia*, caused the City (June 24. being Saturday) to meet in Common Council, where, (for some reasons already expressed) and because the repealing this Ordinance upon no other grounds than the Armies imperious desires, might justly be suspected, to shake all other

Ordinances, for security of Money, sale of Bishops Lands, by making them repealable at the Armies pleasure; they resolve to Petition the House upon Monday morning following, being 26. whether this July, which they did by the Sheriffs, and some Common Council men: But so it hapned, that about one thousand Apprentices wholly unarmed, came down two or three hours after with another Petition, of their own, to the Houses; herein complaining, that to Order the Cities Militia was the Cities Birth-right belonging to them by Charters confirmed in Parliament, for defence whereof they had adventured their lives as far as the Army; And desired the Militia might be put again into the same hands in which it was put with the Parliament and Cities consent by Ordinance, May 4.

Upon reading these Petitions, the Lords were pleased to revoke the Ordinance of July 23. and revive that of May 4. by a new Ordinance of July 26. which they presently sent down to the Commons for their consents, where some of the Apprentices (presuming they might have as good an influence upon the House to obtain

24
The City trou-
bled at the
change of their
Milicia.

I appeal to Col-
lonel Harry,
whether this
did not fight
him?

25
The City Pe-
tition the Hou-
ses for their
Militia again.

26
The tumult of
Apprentices,
26 July.

obtain their due , as the Army in pay of the Parliament had to obtain more than their due) in a childish heat were over clamorous to have the Ordinance passed , refusing to let some Members pass out of the House , or come forth into the Lobby when they were to divide upon the question about it , (so ignorant were they of the customs of the House) which at last passed in the affirmative about three of the clock afternoon ; and then most of the Ap-

²⁷ The Tumult of apprentices departed quietly into the City. After which , some disorderly persons (very few of them Apprentices) were drawn together and instigated by divers Sectaries and friends of the Army who mingled with them (amongst whom one Highland was observed to be all that day very active ; who afterwards [26 Sept.] delivered a Petition to the House against those Members that late , and was an Informer and Witness examined about the said *Tumult*) gathered about the Commons door and grew very outrageous , compelling the Speaker to return to the Chair after he had adjourned the House ; and there kept the Members in until they had passed a Vote , *that the King should come to London to Treat*.

This was cunningly and premeditately contrived , to encrease the scandal upon the City ; yet when the Common-Council of London heard of this disorder as they were then sitting ; they presently sent down the Sheriff to their rescue with such strength as they could get ready (their *Militia* being then unseated by the contradicting Ordinances of the Parliament) who at last pacified the Tumult , and sent the Speaker safe home ; which was as much as they could do in this interval of their *Militia* , being the Houses own Act .

²⁸ The Lords adjourned until the next Friday ; the Commons but until the next day . Tuesday morning the Commons sat again The Speaker of the Commons cause the Lords had done so . compained of

a report , that he meant to fly to the Army , yet run away to the Army . The next day being Wednesday , the monthly Fast , the Speaker and Members met in Westminster Church ; where the Speaker complained (in some passion) to Sir Ralph Ashton and other Members , of a scandalous report raised on him in the City , as if he intended to desert the House , and fly to the Army , saying , he scorned to do such a base , unjust , dishonorable act ; but would rather die in his House and Chair : which being spoken in a time and place

place of so much reverence and devotion, makes many think his secret retreat to the Army (the very next day) proceed not so much from his own judgment, as from some strong threats from Cromwell and Ireton (who were the chief contrivers of this desperate plot to divide the City and Houses, and bring up the Army to enthrone them both) That if he did not comply with their desires, they would cause the Army to impeach him for counseling the State of many vast sums of money.

And truly I remember I have seen an intercepted Letter, sent about the time of his flight, from the Army to Will. Lenthal Speaker without any name subscribed to it, only the two last lines were of John Rushworth's hand; earnestly importuning him to retire to the Army, with his friends.

On Thursday morning early, the new renewed *Militia of London*. Th: City pro-
claim against
Tumults.
made publick Proclamation throughout the City and Suburbs, and set up printed Tickets at Westminster, That if any person should disturb either of the two Houses, or their Members, the Guards should apprehend them, and if resistance were made, kill them; yet notwithstanding, the Speaker and his party, (carrying the causes of their fear in their own consciences) in the evening of that day secretly stole away to Windsor to the Head-quarters.

Upon Friday morning at least 140 of the Members assembled in the House (they that fled being about 40) whither the Serjeant coming with his Mace, being asked where the Speaker was? The Houses appear, the
Speakers being
at the Army..
answered, He knew not well; that he had not seen him that morning, and was told he went a little way out of Town last night; but said, he expected his return to the House this morning: after that, being more strictly questioned about the Speaker he withdrew himself, and would not be found, till the House (after four hours expectation, and sending some of their Members to the Speakers house, who brought word from his Servants, that they conceived he was gone to the Army) had chosen a new Speaker, Master Hex-
31
ry Pelham, and a new Sergeant, who procured another Mace. The like (mutatis mutandis) was done by the Lords, to prevent discontinuance and fayler of the Parliament for want of Speakers to adjourn and so to continue it, and take away all scruples.

As for the Petition and Engagement of the City (so much aggravated,

Petition and
Engagement
of the City..

vated by the Independent party) it was directed to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council ; from divers Citizens, Commanders and Soldiers, and was occasioned by some intelligence they had, that the Army would demand an alteration of the City Militia, in order to a design they had against the City. It was only intended to the Common Hall, but never presented, as the Soldiers Petition was to their General, which being taken notice of by the Parliament as it was in agitation, was so much resented by the Souldiery, as to put themselves into the posture they are now in (as Lieut. Col. Lilburn says in one of his books) to act no longer by their Commission, but by the principles of Nature and self-defence ; nor did the said Engagement contain any thing but resolutions of self-defence, in relation to the City ; so that we cannot see what the Army had to do to declare their fence upon it in their Letter 23 July, and so put a prejudice upon it in the Houses. I have insisted the more particular upon this Grand Imposture, as being the Anvill upon which they hammered most of their subsequent designs, violent and regal accusations.

The new Speakers chosen; the two Houses proceeded to Vote and Act, as a Parliament.

And first, The House of Commons Voted in the eleven impeached Members : next, They revive and set up again the Committee of Safety by Ordinance of both Houses, enabling them to joyn with the Committee of the restored City Militia, giving power by several Ordinances to them, to Lift and raise Forces, appoint Commanders and Officers, issue forth Arms and Ammunition for defence of both Houses and the City against all that should invade them. Which Votes and preparations for their self-defence (warranted by the same law of Nature, as the Armies papers affirm) were not passed, nor put in execution untill the Army (every day recruited contrary to the Houses Orders) were drawing towards London, and had with much scorn disobeyed the Votes and Letter of both Houses, prohibiting them to come within thirty miles of London.

The Army, to countenance their Rebellion, draw the two Speakers and fugitive Members to sit in consultation, and pass Votes promiscuously with the Council of War in the nature of a Parliament, and to sign an Engagement (dat. 4 August) to live and die

33
Votes passed
after newSpe-
kers chosen.

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34
Members En-
gagement with
the Army.

die with Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Army under his command; affirming therein, that generally throughout their sense agree with the Declaration of Sir Tho. Fairfax, and his Council of War, shewing the grounds of their present advance towards the City of London. In which Declaration, the Council of the Army take upon them to be supreme Judges over the Parliament; Telling you who of the two Houses they hold for persons in whom the publick trust of the Kingdom remaineth, and by whose advice they mean to govern themselves in managing the weighty affairs of the Kingdom: They declare against the late choice of a new Speaker by some Gentlemen at Westminster; And that as things now stand, there is no free nor legal Parliament sitting, being through the violence (29 July) suspended. That the Orders and Votes, &c. passed 29 July last, and all such as shall passe in this assembly of some few Lords and Gentlemen at Westminster, are void and null, and ought not to be submitted unto.

Behold here, not only a power without the Parliament Houses, judging of the very essence of a Parliament, and the validity of their resolutions, but usurping to themselves a negative Voice, which they deny to the King; and yet a Schismatical faction in the 2 Houses complying with them, and betraying and prostituting the very being, Honour, and all the fundamental rights and privileges of this and all future Parliaments, to an Army of Rebels, who refuse to obey their Masters, and disband.

This Engagement so over-leavened the army, that their brutish General sent forth Warrants to raise the Trained Bands of some Counties to march with him against the City and both Houses; although Trained Bands are not under pay of the Parliament; and therefore not under command of the General, by any Order or Ordinance. But, what will not a Fool in authority do, when he is possessed by Knaves? Miserable man! His Foolery hath so long waited upon Cromwell's and Ireton's knavery, that it is not safe for him now to see his folly, and throw by his Cap with a Bell and his Babbie.

The Earl of Essex died so opportunely, that many suspected his death was artificial.

Yet the City were so desirous of Peace, that they sent Commissioners sundry times to the Army to mediate an Accord; Who

35
The City send
Commissioners to the
Army, Foxes,
Gibbs, and Eſ-
ſwick, by whom
they are be-
trayed.

The History of Independency.

could obtain no more equal terms of Agreement than that They shou'd yeeld to desert both Houses, and the impeached Members : Call in their Declaration newly Printed and published : Re-linquishe the Mil-tia : Deliver up all their Forts and Line of Communication to the Army; together With the Tower of London, and all the Magazines and arms therein : Dis-band all their Forces : Turn all the Reformadoes out of the Line : Withdraw all their guards from the Houses : Receive such Guards of Horse and Foot within the Line, as the Army shou'd appoint to guard the Houses : Demolish their works, suffer the whole Army to march in triumph through the City as Conquerours of it and the Parliament, and (as they often give out) of the whole Kingdom : tearms which they might have had from the great Turk, had he sate down before them and broken ground.

All which was suddenly and d-shonourably yeelded to, and executed according, by such an Army as was not able to fight with one half of the City, had they been united: But they are the Devils-seed-men, and have sown the Cockle of Heresies, and Schism, so abundantly in City and Country (especially amongst the more beggarly sort) that these men joyning Principles and interests with the Army, weaken the hands of all opponents. They often brag that they made a civil march, free from Plunder: I Answer, they neither durst nor could do otherwise: their Soldiers being ill Armed, and so few, that they were not able to keep stands in the streets, and keep the Avenyes while their Fellows dispersed to Plunder. Charles 8 with a far greater, and more Victorious Host, durst not offer violence to the far lesse City of Florence when Signior Capona put an affront upon him in the Town-house ; Bidding him beat his drums, and he would ring their Bells.

Upon the 6 of August, 1647. The General brought the fugitive Speakers and Members to the Houses with a strong Party, (who might have returned sooner without a Gaard, had not their own crimes and designs hindred them) the two Palaces filled with armed guards, double Files clean through Westminster hall, up the stairs to the Houfe of Commons, and so through the Court of Requests to the Lords House, and down Stairs again into the old Palace. The Souldiers looking scornfully upon many

Members

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36
The fugitive
Members re-
turned.

Members that had sat in the absence of the Speaker, and threatening to cut some of their throats. And all things composed to so ridiculous a terror, as if they would *befpeak* (without speaking) the absence of those Members that sat; placed the Speakers in the Chairs without Vote, out of which they had been justly Voted for deserting their calling; where the General was placed in a *Chair of State*, (enough to make a fool of any man that was not fit for it) and received special thanks for his service from both Speakers. And in the second place, *a day of thanksgiving* was appointed to God (I think) for his patience in not striking these Atheistical Saints with thunder and lightning for making him a stale to their premeditated villainies.

Here Sir Thomas Fairfax, with a breath (and before any man that was not privy to the design could recover out of his amazement) was made *Generalissimo* of all the Forces and Forts of England and Wales; to dispose of them at his pleasure: *Constable of the Tower of London*. The common Souldiers Voted *one moneths gratuity*, besides their pay (the Commons being in good case to give gifts before they *pay debts*:) left to the direction of the General to set whit Guards he pleased upon the two Houles. Whereby you may perceive in what unequal condition thole Members that did not run away with the Speaker, doe now sit; after so many reiterated threats of the General against them in his printed Papers.

After this, the General, Lieutenant General, Major General Skippon (heretofore Waggoner to Sir Francis Vere, and one march in Triumphant through the City; with other subse-
quent Acts.)
that hath got well by serving the City) and the whole Army, with the Train of Artillery, marched through London in so great pomp and triumph, as if they would have the People understand that the Authority of the kingdom (in whose hands soever it remains in these doubtfull times) must submit to the power of the Sword, the hilt and handle whereof they hold. They turn out the Lieutenant of the Tower without cause shew. The consequences of these two Actions were, that immedately the City decayed in Trade above 200000 l. a week; and no more bullion came to the Min.

They displace all our Governors, though placed by Ordinance of Parliament, and put in men of their own party; for this

eneroaching faction will have all in their own hands: they alter and divide the Militia of London, setting up particular Militia's at Westminster, Southwark, and the Hambless of the Tower, that being so divided they may be the weaker: Demolish the Lines of Communication, that the City and Parliament may lie open to Invasion when they please, and fright many more Members from the Houses with threats, and fear of false Impeachments.

The 11. impeached Members, having leave by order of the House, and license of the Speaker, some to go beyond Sea, and *Anthony Nichols* to goe into his own Country to settle his Affairs; Some of them(as Sir *William Waller*, and Mr. *Den. Hollis*) were attache upon the Sea, *Nichols* arrested upon the way into Cornwall by the Army, and despightfully used, And wh n the General was inclined to free him, *Cromwel* (whose malice is known to be as unquenchable as his Nose) told him he was a Traitor to the Army. You see now upon whom they mean to fix the peoples allegiance, (for where no allegiance is due, there can be no Treason) and to what purpose they have since by their 4 Votes (first debated between the Independent Grandees of the Houses and Army) laid aside the King, and (as much as in them is) taken off our Allegiance from him.

Col. *Birch* formerly employed for Ireland by the Parliament, was imprisoned, and his men mutinied against him by the Army, and Sir *Sam. Luke* resting quietly in his own house, was their seized upon, and carried Prisoner into Army.

All these Acts of terror were but so many scarecrows set up to fright more Presbyterians from the Houses, and make the Army masters of their Votes.

38
Proceedings of both Houses under the power of the Army.
39
Ordinance to Null and Void all Acts passed in absence of the 2 runagado Speakers

I must in the next place fall upon the Proceedings in both Houses, acted under the power and influence of this all-inslaving, all-devouring Army, and their engaged party; To attain the knowledge whereof, I have used my utmost industry and interest with many my near friends, and kinsmen sitting within those Walls, heretofo'e (when Kings, not Brewers and Draymen, were in power) the walls of publique Liberty.

The Lords that sat in absence of the two Speakers (all but the Earl of *Pembrok*, whose easie disposition made him fit for all companies) found it their safest course to forbear the House, leaving

To the court he so ye to

leaving it to be possessed by those few Lords that went to, and engaged with the Army : which ingaged Lords sent to the Commons for their concurrence to an Ordinance, *To make all Acts, Orders, and Ordinances, passed from the 26. July, (when the tumult was upon the Houses) to the 6 of August following (being the day of the fugitive Members return) Void and Null ab initio.* This was five or six several days severally and fully debated, as often put to the question, and carried in the Negative every time ; Yet the Lords still renewed the same message to them, beating back their Votes into their throats, and would not acquiesce, but upon every denial put them again to roll the same stone, contrary to the privileges of the Commons.

The Chief Arguments used by the engaged party were all grounded upon the Common places of fear and necessity: Mr. Solicitor threatening if they did not concur, the Lords were resolved to vindicate the Honour of their House, and sic no more ; they most have recourse to the power of the Sword; *The longest Sword take all.* That they were all engaged to live and die with the Army. They should have a sad time of it. Haslerigge used the like language, farther saying, Some heads must slice off ; and he feared, the Parliament of England would not save the Kingdom of England, they must look another way for safety. They could not satisfy the Army but by declaring all void ab initio ; and the Lords were so far engaged, that no middle way would serve. To this was answered, That this was an appeal from the Parliament to the Army. And when these and many more threats of as high nature were complained of, as destructive to the liberty and beings of Parliaments, the Speaker would take no notice of it. Sir Henry Vane junior, Sir John Evelyn junior, Prideaux, Gourdon, Mildmay, Thomas Scot, Cornelius Holland, and many more, used the like threats.

Upon the last Negative (being the fifth or sixth) the Speaker perceiving greater enforcements must be used) pulled a Letter out A threatening of his pocket, From the General and General Council of the Army (for that was now their stile) pretending he then received it; But it was conceived he received it over night, with directions to conceal it, if the question had passed the affirmative. It was accompanied with a Remonstance full of villainous language and

40
Menaces used
by the engaged
party in the
House.

41
A threatening
from the Army
to the House

⁴² threats against those Members that sat while the two Speakers were with the Army, calling them pretended Members, charging them (in general) with Treason, Treachery, and breach of Trust; and protested, if they shall presume to stir before they have cleared themselves, that they did not give their assents to such and such Votes, they should sit at their peril, and he would take them as prisoners of War, and try them at a Council of War.

What King of England ever offered so great a violence to the fundamental Privileges of Parliament; as to deny them the Liberty of Voting *I and No* freely? Certainly the *list & finger* of a *Jack Cade*, or a *Wat Tyler*, is far heavier than the loynes of any King.

Many Members were amazed at this Letter, and it was moved, *That the Speaker should command all the Members to meet at the House the next day; and shou'd declare, That they should be secured from danger: And that it might be ordered, That no more but the ordinary Guards should attend the House.* But these two motions were violently opposed with volleys of threats, by the aforesaid Parties and others. And after more than two hours debate, the Speaker refused to put any question upon them, or any of them; and so adjourned to the next morning, leaving the Presbyterian Members to meet at their Peril.

The next day being Friday, the 20. August, there was a very thin Assembly in the House of Commons; the House having with so much violence denied protection to their Members the day before, made most of the Presbyterian partie absent. Some went over to the Independent party: others sat mute. At last a Committee was appointed presently to bring in an *Ordinance of Accommodation*; which was suddenly done and pasted, and is now printed at the latter end of the said menacing *Remonstrance* of the Army: a Child fit to wait upon such a Mother.

Debate in passing the Ordinance of null and void. Thus was this *Ordinance of null and void* gotten (which hath been the cause of so much danger and trouble to multitudes of people) by the Lords reiterated breaches upon the Privileges of the House of Commons; The engaged parties threats with dores; The Armies thundering Letters and Remonstrance, Their Guards

Guards upon their doors, and a Regiment or two of Horse in Hide Park, ready to make impressions upon the House, in case things had not gone to their minds : diverse of whose Commanders walking in the Hall, enquired often how things went ; protesting, they would pull them forth by the Ears if they did not give speedy satisfaction.

Thus for the manner of passing that Ordinance.

The matter of Argument used against it was (as far as I can hear) to the purpose following : It was alleged that the Force upon Monday, 26. July, ended that day, that the next day being Tuesday, the House met quietly, and adjourned : that upon Friday following, the Houses sat quietly all day, and gave their Votes freely, and so forward ; the City having sufficiently provided for their security, that the transient force upon Monday, could have no influence on the Houses for time to come.

That the Supreme power of no Nation can avoid their own Acts by pretended force : this would make the Common people, the Jurors, and Judges, to question all Acts done in Parliament, since one man can, and may judge of force as well as another : this were to bring the Records of the House into dispute : *Magna Charta was never gotten nor confirmed but by Force :* Force was three-fold, upon one, or both Houses ; or upon the King, in giving his Royal assent ; neither could plead it : the Parliament is presumed to consist of such men as dare lay down their lives for their Country.

When the King came with force to demand the 5 Members : When the City came down crying for justice against the Earl of Strafford : When the Women came down crying for Peace : When the Reformadoes came down in a much more dangerous Tumulte than this of the unarmed Apprentices ; yet the Houses continued sitting and acting, and none of their Acts were nullified.

That to make their Acts, Orders, and Ordinances void *ab initio*, would draw many thousand men, who had acted under them, into danger of their lives and fortunes, who had no Authority to dispute the validity of our Votes : we must therefore give them power to dispute our Acts hereafter upon matter of fact ; for to tie men to unlimited and undisputable obedience to our

our Votes , and yet to punish them for obeying whensover we shall please to declare our acts void , *ab initio* , is contrary to all reason . If to act upon such Ordinances were criminal , it was more criminal in those that made them . And who shall be Judges of those that made them ? not the Members that went to the Army ; They are parties pre-engaged to live and die with the Army ; and have approved the *Armies Declaration*, calling those that late , *a few Lords and Gentlemen* , and no Parliament : They have joy ned with a power out of the Houses to give a Law to , and put an engagement upon both Houses , a precedent never heard of before , of most dangerous consequence , it takes away the liberty of giving *I* and *No* freely , being the very life of Parliaments : If all done under an actual force be void , it is questionable whether all hath been done this four or five years be not void ; and whether his Majesties Royal assent to some good Bills passed this Parliament , may not be said to have been extorted by force : If the Kings partie prevail , they will declare this Parliament void ,

Fabian , His upon the ground your selves have laid . 1 Hen. 7. that King urged the Parliament to make void *ab initio* , all Acts passed Rich. 3. which they refused upon this ground , that then they should make all that had acted in obedience to them liable to punishment , only they repealed those Acts .

The debate upon this Ordinance of *Null and Void* , held from Monday , 9 of Aug. to the 20 Aug. (when it was passed) but not without some interloping debates of something a different nature , yet all looking the same way ; occasioned by *Messages* from the Lords : Namely , once upon a Message from them , The said Declaration from Sir Thomas Fairfax and his Army , concerning their *advance to London* was read and debated in grosse , whether the Commons should concur with the Lords in approving it ? But almost all but the engaged party and their pensioners distasted it , it was laid by without any question put , lest it should prove dangerous to put a Negative upon their Masters of the Army . Yet many menaces (according to custome) were used by the eng aged party to get it passed : *Hasterrigge* affirming that those Gentlemen that late and voted for a Committee of safety , and the Kings coming to London , did drive on the design of the *City Protestation and Engagement* . To which was answered , That the Committee

43
The Lords
Message to the
Commons to
approve the
Declaration of
the Army .

44
The Commit
tee of safety

Committee of safety was not then newly erected by those which sat; but of the old Committee, revived by that Vote, which had been long since erected in a full and free Parliament, when the Army first mutinied, and threatened to march to London, and for the same ends, defence of Parliament and City, and for the Kings coming to London, it was Voted only to get him out of the power of the army; as formerly in a full and free Parliament he had been Voted to Richmond for the same reason.

Upon another Message from the Lords, the Commons concurred in an Ordinance to erect a Committee of Examination, to inquire into, and examine the City Petition, Engagement, and the force upon the Houses 26 July, and all endeavours to raise any forces, &c. This Committee consisted of 23 Commons besides Lords, almost all of them Members engaged with the Army: but because there were some three or four Presbyterians gotten in amongst them, to shut these Gannanites forth, that the Godly, the true seed of Israel might shuffle the cards according to their own mind, the 13 August after (upon another Message from the Lords) there was a Sub-Committee of Secrecy; named out of this Grand Committee of Examinations, to examine upon Oath, the persons were, the Earl of Denbigh, and Mulegrave, Lord Gray of Wark, Lord Howard of Escrig, Sir Arthur Hasterigge, Mr. Solicitor, Gourdon, Miles Corbet, Alderman Penington, Allen, Edwards, Col. Ven, or any three of them; all persons engaged, to lie and die with the Army, and now appointed to make a clandestine scrutiny, and search into the lives and actions of the Presbyterian Party that sat in Parliament doing their duty, when the engaged Party fled to the Army, and brought them up in hostile manner against them.

The unreasonableness of this way of proceeding was much urged, and farther alleged, that it was neither consonant to the customs of the House, nor unto common reason, that a Sub-committee should be chosen out of the Grand Committee of Examinations, with more power than the Grand Committee it self had, and excluding the rest of the Committee, under the pretence of Secrecy's nations, Besides, it was against the privilege of the House of Commons, that the Lords should nominate the Commissioners that Sub-committee, as well as their own Members. But the Independent Grandees

Debate upon
passing the
Committee of
Secrecy exami-

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dees would have it pass. Breach of Privilege and all other considerations are easily swallowed when they are subservient to their present designs.

48. The party engaged were resolved to be *Examiners, Informers, The manner of and Witnesses*, as well as *Parties*; (so active was their malice) and prosecution & had so well packed their Cards, that eight or nine Schismatical proceeding up on the Tumul. Lords engaged likewise with them, and the Army should be Judges of the Presbyterian Party that sat in absence of the two Speakers, the better to give the two Houses a thorough Purge, and make them of the same complexion with the Army: without which they had no hopes to divide the power and profit of the Land between themselves by 10000 l. 20000 l. in a morning shared amongst the Godly; and to make the whole Kingdom to be *Gibeonites*, hewers of wood, and drawers of water to the faithful.

49. Miles Corbet (Interpreter to the State-puppets-play behind the curtain, commonly called, *The Cloſe Committee of Examinations*) upon the 3 September, stood up and began his Report from that Inquisition, saying, *He would begin with the Committee of Safety, wherein many Members were concerned*, and it was necessary to purge the Houses first. Against the Committee of Safety. But further said, *he would suppress the names of many of his Witnesses, because the Depositions he should report were but preparatory Examinations, and it would be for service of the State to conceal their names,*

He first produced many Warrants signed at the Committee of Safety by the Earls of Pembroke, Suffolk, Middlesex, Lincoln, Lord Willoughby of Parham, Maynard, Mr. Hollis, Sir Phi. Stapleton, Sir Will. Waller, Mr. Long, Mr. Nichols, Sir William Lewis, Mr. Baynton.

Against Master Baynton. Next, Corbet reported, he had a Witness who deposed that a Gentleman with a Red head had signed many Warrants, supposed to be Master Edward Baynton; at length after muchwyer-drawing of the business, one Warrant was shewn to Master Baynton, which he confessed to be his hand. And presently Haslerig moved that Master Baynton might forthwith Answer; against which was objected, That since these were but preparatory Examinations, no legal proofs, so man was bound to Answer them; otherwise a man shall

shall be put to as many several answers as several new masters of Charge com: in against h: m: , and shal day by day be liable to new vexations, and never know when he hath cleared himself. But Corbet (who of an Examiner was now become the Kings Solicitor , or Advocate Criminal) moved to proceed to Judgment against him : but first to ask him some preparatory questions. But it was answered , that it was illegal to squeeze examinations out of a mans own mouth ; neither was a man bound to answere , where his words may condemn , but not absolve him : for so much as depends upon the testimony of Witnesses against this Gentleman, you cannot proceed unless he be by , and have liberty to put cross questions to the Witnesses . It is alleged , Warrants were signed , and all done in relation to a new War. It is answered , it was done in order to Self-defence (allowed by the Laws.) Long before this occasion , when the Army first mutinied and threatened to march to London , and use such extraordinary means against the Parliament and City as God had put into their hands , you then in a full and free Parliament appointed a Committee of Safety for their defence , who sat and acted . This Committee was but the same revived , and upon the like or worse threats and menaces , as by the many printed papers from the Army will appear ; you have no Testimony against this Gentleman by name , but only a character of his Hair : and for signing the Warrant confessed by himself: he is acquitted by the Proviso of the Ordinance 20 August last , which excepted only such as acted upon the force; but when the Committee of Safety was revived , the Parliament was freer from force than it is now. Mr. Baynton notwithstanding , was adjudged to be suspended the House during pleasure of the House , which is as much as to say , So long as the Tyranny of this Domineering Faction lasteth .

The 4 of Sept. Corbet reported he had a Witness (but named him not , because they were but preparatory examinations) who depos'd , that an elderly Gentleman , of low stature , in a Gray suit , with a little stick in his hand , came forth of the House into the Lobby when the tumult was at the Parliament dore , and whispered some of the Apprentices in the ear , and encouraged them , (supposed to be Mr. Walker's) Mr. Walker denied he spake thereto with any man in the Lobby , or saw any face that he knew

Against Mr:
Walker.

there; and so neglected the busines as a thing not considerable. But the next day *Corbet* moved that Mr. *Walker* might be ordered to put on his Gray suit again, and appear before the Close Committee, and the Witnes, who saith, *he knoweth him again if he see him*. I hear Mr. *Walker* desired to know (seeing the Witnes had not named him) by what Authority the examiners should take such a Deposition, and make application thereof to him; And seeing there were many Gentlemen in the House that day with whom that Character agreed as well as with himself, why the Reporter did not move that all to whom that Character was applicable might be put to that test as well as himself, but single him out for a mark to shoot at; complaining, that he was not ignorant out of what quiver this Arrow came: he had been threatned with a revenge by some of that Close Committee, and had other Enemies amongst them, that could bite without barking. He told them that yesterday Mr. *Corbet* reported that the supposed old man whispered, &c: but desired those that were then in the House to call to mind that the noise was then so great in the *Lobby*, that no whisper, nay the loudest words he was able to speak could not be heard. Then *Corbet* changed his Tale, saying, the words were, *What you do, do quickly*; and were spoken aloud; and said the Character agreed best with Mr. *Walker*, for that the Deponent said, the Gentleman was a *Lean meager* man.

Here Mr. *Walker* desired the House to take notice, that the Reporter had twice varied his Report. In the words spoken, from *a whisper to loud speaking*. In the Character enlarged with the words *Lean and meager*. Here is hail-shot provided, if one raiseth the other must hit; Yet with this addition, there were divers in the House with whom the Character agreed as well as with himself. And by the incivility of his words, it shoulde seem the Witnes is a man of no breeding; wherefore he desired to hear his name, that he mighte inquire of his credit and repute. If the Reporter thinks he may be practised, he doth not think him a man of honesty, and then he had more caufe to suspect him. He farther complained, that to make Hue and Cry after him (as it were upon fresh sue) upon a Character of his person and cloaths five or six weeks after the supposed fact, (he never having absented

ted himself one day from the House) favoured too much of a party overswaid with malice and revenge.

Your Close Committee of Examination carry on busynesses so in the dark (being parties engaged with the Army, and not sworn to be true in their office) that no man can see how to defend himself, or how he is dealt with, or when he is free from trouble and danger. It seems we are here called *extempore* to answer for our lives, *ore tenus*; and our Accusation beginneth with the Examination of our persons, to make us state a Charge against our selves, to betray our selves, and cut our own throats with our tongues, contrary to *Magna Charta*, the *Petition of Right*, and all those Laws of God and Man, which in the Kings time were in use; and no Witnesses are produced, nor so much as named: me thinks therefore we are compelled to play at *blind-man-bough* for our lives, not seeing who strikes us. You have the most summary way of hanging one another that ever I saw; it is a kind of Star-chamber proceeding in matter of life and death; your secret Examinations favour so much of the *Spanish inquisition*, and of the *Council of Troubles* erected by the Duke d' Alva in the *Low-countries* (called *Concilium Sanguinis*) that they can never agree with the *Laws and Nature of our Nation*: if our Kings shall imitate you hereafter, they will be the greatest Tyrants in the World. Formalities and Privileges of Court, derogating from the common Rules of Law, and practice of the Land, are but curtains drawn before oppression and tyranny to dazzle mens eyes. Give me leave to tell you, that I have served you faithfully from the beginning, and have taken as much pains, and run as many hazzards, as most men in your service, wherein I have lost my health, and above 7000l. of my Estate, without one penny recompensation, as other men have had; nor have I laid my hand upon any mans money or goods, or had any gainfull imployment from you; I contented my self to serve my Country ~~gratuitis~~, and with some little honour I had gotten thereby, wherent you have now robbed me, by a roaving Accusation shot at random at me. Had I cheated the State of 40000 l. or 50000 l. peradventure I might have been thought a Godly confiding man, of right principles, and have had 1000 l. given me for my ~~jeans~~. Sir, You have heard the voice of a Free man (not of a slave) that ~~dates~~ keep his first Principles,

Religion, Laws, and just liberties, whosoever lays them aside; and protests against Tyranny and oppression, wheresoever he finds it, whether in the Government of one or many. You may murder me by the Sword of Justice, but you cannot hurt me: but deliver me from the evils to come. Nor shall I be unwilling to suffer a Gaol-delivery of my Soul from the prison of my body when I am called to it.

When Mr. Walker had done his defence, the debate followed much to this purpose, *That to order him to appear in his Gray suit before the Close Committee and Witness was illegal, and against the Laws and Liberties of the Subject.*

1. It is to help another to accuse himself; which is all one as if he did accuse himself.

2. To bid a Witness look upon a man (after he is engaged to name some body) is to prompt him to go no farther than the party shewed.

3. A Witness ought not to be twice examined against a man, that is, to draw him on by degrees to swear home, and to mend in his second Deposition, what fell short in his first.

4. If the Witness first deposed to the matter, not naming the party, & five or six weeks after declare the Person without Oath, this is no Deposition, and if the Oath be renewed, the Witness is twice examined: So the business was laid by, and Corbet allowed to shew Mr. Walker casually as he could meet with him to his Witness, which was (in a manner) to draw dry foot after him with his blood-hound.

I was the more curious in gathering the circumstances of this business out of the reports of many several men, in regard of the rareness of the case, and the exquisiteness of the malice with which it was prosecuted. And it seemed to me the more admirable, because I hear generally that Mr. Walker hath always been opposite to all parties and factions, both Presbyterian and Independent, upon whom he looks as the common disturbers both of Church and Commonwealth, and enemies of peace. Nor could he ever be persuaded to be at any of their Juntoes or secret meetings; and therefore it is not probable he should suddenly and in the open view of the House go forth and engage with a company of silly unarmed Apprentice Boys. But I bear they cannot endure his severity, nor be their knavery. What will not the malice

of a desperate Anabaptistical faction attempt? they have long spor-
ted in the blood and treasure of the Land, as the Leviathan doth
in the Waters; and do now keep up a numerous Army to carry on
those designs by force, which they can no longer make good by
fraud. All England is become as Munster was, and our Grandees
suitable to John of Leyden, and Knipperdoling.

The next report Cobet made concerning Mr. Recorder Ḡ. Against Mr.
The chief things objected were, That he had frequented the Com- Recorder Ḡ.
mon Council, the Committees of the Militia, and Safety, more than
he was wont to do: That he was silent and made no opposition; and
that he gave thanks to the Apprentices when they delivered their
Petition to the City, offering their help for defence thereof against
whomsoever.

The Recorder answered, The Charge was long, and his Memory
short: He desired time to examine his memory, concerning the cir-
cumstances of time, place, persons and other matters; and that he
might examine Witnesses for clearing his innocency. But his prosecu-
tors (hoping to do more good upon him by way of Surprise,
than in a deliberate and legal way of proceeding) put him upon
it to answer *extempore*. He confessed and avoyded some things,
but denied the most material. He denied he was more frequent
at their meetings than ordinary. For his silence, he alleged, he was
but the Cities servant, and had no voice amongst them, but when
his opinion is demanded: That he gave thanks to the Appren-
tices as a servant by command, yet had mixed some admonitions
and reprehensions in his Speech to them.

So the Recorder withdrew. And presently Hasterig (according
to his custom) moved judgment might be given against him. To
which was answered, that the Recorder denied the principal
parts of his Charge; and offered proofs by Witnesses: you must
give him that leave, or take all parts of his speech for granted;
as well that makes for him, as against him. Two or three days
more will make this business ripe for judgment: let him have one
judgment for all. If you judge him now to be expelled the
House, he is already forejudged, and that will be a leading case to
a farther judgment: for who dares acquit where you have con-
demned? A man ought to be but once judged upon one accusa-
tion. The dishonour of expulsion is a punishment exceeding
death

death. If you judge now upon one part of the Accusation , and hereafter upon another part of the Accusation , he will be twice condemned upon one Accusation , and shall never know when he hath satisfied the Law , an endless vexation .

Yet *Hastig* moved he might receive judgment now, for what was already proved or confessed, to be expelled the Houle (saying, *The Lords went on without obstruction in their bus'ess, because they had purged their Houle*) and that he might be farther impeached hereafter upon farther hearing. So he was adjudged to be discharged the Houle, committed to the Tower , and farther impeached hereafter.

Against S. John Maynard. Sir *John Maynard* the same day was called to Answer. He desired a copy of his Charge , with leave to Answer in writing by advice of Counsel , as the 11 Members formerly did ; to examine Witnesses on his part , and cross examine their Witnesses . But these requests were denied, and he commanded to Answer *ex tempore* . He gave no particular Answer , but denied all in general : as Col. *Brake* (whom he cited for his president) had formerly done at their Bar . He was adjudged to be discharged the Houle , committed to the Tower , and farther impeached .

The like for Commissary General *Copley* , whose case differed little.

Against the 7. Lords. The 8 of Sept. the Earls of *Suffolk, Lincoln, Middlesex* , the Lords *Berkley, Willoughby, Hunsdon, and Maynard*, were impeached of High Treason in the name of the Commons of England , for leaving War against the King , Parliament , and Kingdom . The Earl of *Pembroke* (then sent to *Hampton Court* with the Propositions on purpose to avoid the storm) was omitted untill Wednesday following, and so had the favour to be thought not worth rememb'ring.

Sir *John Evelyn* the younger sent up to the Lords with the Impeachment , and a desire they might be committed . They were committed to the *Black Rod* ; and so the engaged Lords had their House to themselves according to their desires.

The 14 Sept. A Petition from divers Schismatics in *Essex* came to the Houses , bearing this Title; *To the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, distinct from the Lords and Commons that sat in absence of the two Speakers.*

50
Schismatrical Petitions.

16 Sept.

2^d. Sept. a Petition from divers Sectaries of Oxfordsh. Bucks.
Berksh. was delivered to the House against divers Members sitting
in the House, *Enemies to God and Godliness, Enemies to the
Kingdom, &c. Usurpers of Parliamentary authority, who endeav-
oured to bring in the King upon his own Terms.* They desired
a free Parliament, and that (according to the desires of the Army)
those that sat when the Parliament was suspended in absence
of Tythes, &c. in it. Such another Petition came but the day before
from Southwark.

These Petitions were all penned by the engaged party of the Army of
Houses and Army, and sent abroad by Agitators to get subscriptions. These Petitions,
The design was to put the two parties in the House into
heights one against another, to make the lesser party in the House
(viz. the ingaged party, but 59) to expel the greater party, being
about 140, whereby the House might be low and base in the opinion
of the people, and no Parliament, and so leave all to the power
of the Sword. The Army dayly recruiting, and thereby
giving hopes to all loose people, that the Army should be their
common Receptacle, as the sea is the common Receptacle of all
waters, because those who had no hopes to be Members of Parliament
might become Members of this Army. Besides their plausible way of prompting the people to Petition against Tythes, Enclosures, and Copy-hold fines uncertain, was to encourage them
to side with the Army against all the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy
of the Land, (from whom the Army did most fear an opposition)
and to destroy Monarchy it self; since it is impossible for any Prince, to be a King only of Beggers, Tinkers, and Coblers.

But these interloping discourses omitted, let us again return to these prodigious Impeachments. The next in order comes in Against the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens, with whom short work was made. Impeachments were sent to the Lords against them, and they sent to the Tower upon a bare report of the Inquisitor general Corbet, and the reading of some depositions, the Witnesses names for the most part concealed, and none of them so much as called to the Commons Bar, to see what they could say for themselves; contrary to *Magna Charta*, 29 ch. and contrary to 28 Edw. 3 enacting, *That no man shall be put out of his Land, &c. nor taken, nor Imprisoned, &c. or put to death, &c. without being*

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brought to answer by due process of Law. That is, according to the Stat. 42. Ed. 3. c. 3. That no man be brought to answer without presentment before Justices, or master of Record, or by due process, or writ original according to the old Law of the Land: not according to new invented Articles of Impeachment; but according to thole Laws that were well known, and old in Edw. 3. time: See Stat. 37. Ed. 3. 1 Ed. 6. ch. 12. & Ed. 6. c. 11. and the Stat. 25. E. 3. faith, *No man shall be taken by Petition or suggestion made to the King or his Counsel, &c.* and the House of Peers is no more but the Kings Counsel, as anon I shall make evident.

51
Arguments against impeachments before the Lords.

It was moved by divers, that these Gent. might be tryed according to Law at the Kings Bench, by a Iury of twelve men *de vicineto*, their Peers and Equals to judg of matter of fact: alleging that the Common Law was the Birthright of all the free People of England: which was one of the 3 Principles for which the Paliaement so often declared in print that they fought, and for defence whereof they had entered into a covenant, *with their hands lifted up to God*: the other two principles were Religion and Liberties.

1. *The Lords were not Peers to the Commoners: At the common Law they shall have sworn Judges for master of Law, of whom they may ask questions in doubtfull points, nor can they be Judges in their own causes.*

2. *They have sworn Iurors of the Neighbourhood for matter of fact, whom they may Challenge.*

3. *The known Laws and Statutes for Rules to judg by, which in case of Treason is the Stat. 25. Ed. 3. you cannot Vote nor declare a new Treason: And if you could, to do it Ex post facto, is contrary to all rules of justice: The Apostle saith, sin is a breach of a Commandement (or Law) I had not known sin but by the Law: the Law therefore must go before Sin.*

4. *At the Common Law, They have witnessenes openly and newly examined upon Oath before the accused's face, who may except against them and cross examine them.*

5. *Even in Star-chamber and Chancery (where only hearings are upon Testimonies) the Examiners are sworn Officers.*

6. *A man hath but one Tryal and Judgment upon one accusation: so that he knows when he hath satisfied the Law.*

In this way of proceeding, all these necessary legalitites are laid by,

by ; and these Gentlemen have not so much fair play for their Lives and Estates, as *Naborb* had for his Vineyard : he had all the formalities of the law ; yea, he had law it self ; yet he had not justice , because they were the sons of *Belial* that were set before him : what shall we conceive these Witnesses are that do not appear ? nay, whose very names are concealed ? yet *Naborb* was murdered by the sword of Justice : for the honour of Parliaments give not the people cause to suspect these Gentleman shall be so too: *non recurrendum ad extraordinaria, quando fieri potest per ordinaria.*

But all this was but to charm a deaf Adder : the nine or ten engaged Lords that then possessed the House, were thought to be fitter than a Jury of Middlesex to make work for the hang-man, and yet they have no Judicature over the Commons, as appears by the President of Sir Simon de Berisford, William Talboys, and the City of Cambridge. Note that one president against the jurisdiction of a Court is more valued than a hundred for it: because the Court cannot be supposed ignorant of the Law, and its own rights ; but a particular man or Client may : see Sir John Maynard's Royal quarrel, and his Laws subversion, Lieutenant Col. Lilburn's Wh^tp for the present House of Lords, and Judge Jenkins Remonstrance to the Lords and Commons of the two Houses of Parliament, dated 21 Feb 1647. As for the cases of Weston, Gommes, and Hall, (cited by Mr. Pryn) they were for facts done beyond Sea, and before the Stat. 1 Hen. 4. ch. 14. whereof the Common Law could then have no connusance, and therefore an extraordinary way of proceeding before the Lords was requisit, and by the Kings special authority it was done, without which (I dare boldly affirm) the Lords have no Judicature at all ; which thus I make appear.

1. The King by delivering the Great Seal to the Lord Keeper, makes him *Keeper of his conscience* for matter of equity; By His Brevia patentia to the Judges of the two Benches & the Exchequer, of Judicature the King makes them *administrators and interpreters of His Laws:* at all properly But he never trusts any but himself with the power of pardoning and dispensing with the rigor of the Law in Criminal cases. And though the Lord Keeper is Speaker of the Lords House of course, yet he is no Member of the Lords House *virtute Officii:* the Judges

ges are not Members, but assistants only: so that no man in the House of Peers, as he is simply a Peer, is trusted by the King either with dispensation of Law, or Equity.

2. When a Peer of Parliament, or any man else is tried before the Lords in Parliament criminally, he cannot be tryed by his Peers only, because in acts of judicature there must be a Judge Superior, who must have his inferiors ministerial to him: therefore in the trial of the Earl of Strafford (as in all other trials upon life and death, in the Lords House) the King grants his Commission to the L^d high Steward to sit as Judge, and the rest of the Lords are but in the nature of Jurors. So that it is the Kings Commission that Authoriseth and Distinguisheth them.

3. When a Writ of Error issues out of the Chancery to the House of Peers, they derive their Authority meerly from that Writ.

For the three Reasons aforesaid, the House of Peers is no Court of Judicature, without the Kings special Authority granted to them; either by his Writ, or his Commission; and the Lords by their four Votes have denied all further address or application to the King, have cut off from themselves that fountain from which they derived all their power; and all trials by Commission must be upon Bills or Acts of Attainder, not by *Articles of Impeachment*, a way never heard of before this Parliament, and invented to carry on the designs of a restless impetuous faction: Had the Faction had but so much wit as to try the Gentlemen by Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*, before Sergeant Wild, he would have borrowed a point of Law to hang a hundred of them for his own preferment.

Observe, that almost all the cases cited by Mr. *Prye* concerning the Peers trials of Commissioners were Authorised by the King upon the special instance of the House of Commons; as for the House of Commons they never pretended to any power of Judicature, and have not so much Authority as to Administer an Oath, which every Court of Pye-Poulders hath.

But this way of tryall before the pre-engaged Lords, and upon *Articles of Impeachment* (which they keep by them of all sorts and sizes fit for every man, as in *Birchin-lane* they have suits ready made to fit every body) was the apter means to bring men

men to death ; whom they feared living , had not a doubt of the Scots comming in taught them more moderation than their nature is usually acquainted with ; and to fright away , (at least) put to silence the rest of the Members with fear of having their names put in blank Impeachments ; and that it might be so apprehended , Miles Corbet moved openly in the House of Commons that they should proceed with the Impeachments which were ready , nothing wanted but to fill up the Blanks , they might put in what names they pleased . This Inquisitor General , this Prologue to the Hang - man , that looks more like a Hang - man than the Hang - man himself , hath since gotten a rich office of Register of the han - cery , as a reward for his double diligence : Oh Sergeant Wild and Mr. Steel despair not of a reward .

Friday 27 Sept. the advice of Sir Thomas Fairfax and his Coun -
cill of War was read in the House of Commons , What standing
forces they ought to keep up in England and Wales , and what
Garrisons ; also what forces to send for Ireland ; namely , for
Ireland , 6000 foot , and 2400 horse , out of the supernumerary
loose forces , being no part of the Army ; and for England , upon
established pay , 18000 foot at 8d. per diem . 7200 horse at 2s. per
diem each Trooper , 1000 Dragoons , and 200 Fire locks , Train
of Artillery , Arms and Ammunition , to be supplied . The foot to
be kept in Garrisons , yet so that 6000 may be readily drawn into
the Field .

Establishment
for the Army .

The Independent party argued , that the Army were unwilling to go for Ireland , pretending their engagement to the contrary ; If you divide or disband any part of your Army , they will suspect you have taken up your old resolution against them , to disband the whole Army : it is now no time to discontent them , when the Kings Answers to your Propositions tend to divide you and your Army , and the people are generally disaffected to you .

The Presbyterian Party argued , that the engagement of the Army ought to be no rule to the Counsels of the Parliament ; otherwise new engagements every day may prescribe the Parliament new Rules ; we must look two wayes , 1 Upon the people unable to bear the burthen . 2 Upon the Army . Let us keep some power in our own hands , and not descend so far below

the dignity of a Parliament, as to put all into the hands of the General and his Council War. You have almost given away all already. The Army adviseth you to keep up your Garrisons, then upon mature deliberation this House formerly Voted: you have already made Garrisons manned with gallant and faithfull men, to whom you owe Arrears; to remove them, and place new Souldiers in their rooms, will neither please them, nor the places where they are quartered, who being acquainted with their old guests, will not willingly receive new in their rooms. These men have done you as good and faithfull service as any in the Army; and were ready to obey you and go for *Ireland*, had they not been hindred by those, who under pretence of an engagement to the contrary (which they mutinously entred into) will neither obey you, nor go for *Ireland*, nor suffer others to go. Though you discharge these men without paying their Arrears, (which others of other principles will not endure) yet give them good words. If you will be served by none, but such as are of your new principles; yet consider your Army are not all alike principled, and peradventure the old principles may be as good as the new for publick, though not so fit for private designs and purposes. You have passed an Ordinance, *That none that have born Arms against the Parliament shall be employed:* if you disband all such, your Army will be very thin; many have entred into pay there in order to do the King service, and bring the Parliament low. There is no reason you should keep up 1400 horse more than you last voted to keep up, being but 5800. at which time 60000l. a Month was thought an establishment sufficient both for *England* and *Ireland*. But now the whole charge of *England* and *Ireland* will amo unt to 114000l. a month, which must be railed upon the people; either directly and openly by way of settlement, or indirectly and closely, partly by assessments, & partly by free quarter & other devices: nor will the pay of 2s. per diem to each Trooper, and 8d. to each Foot Souldier enable them to pay their quarters. If you mean to govern by the Sword, your Army is too little: if by the Laws and justice of the Land, and love of the people, your Army is too great: you can never pay them, which will occasion mutinies in the Army and ruine to the Country. Thus disputed the Presbyterians, but to no purpose, it was carried against them.

Ob-

Observe that when the War was at the highest, the monthly tax came but to 54000 l. yet had we then the Earl of Essex's Army, Sir William Waller's, My Lord of Denbigh's, M. Gen. Poyntz's. M. Gen. Massey's, Maj. Gen. Langhorn's, Sir William Brereton's, Sir Th. Middleton's Brigades, and other forces in the field, besides Garrisons.

But now this Army hath 60000l. a month, and 20000l. a month more pretended for Ireland; which running all through the fingers of the Committee of the Army,

56
Monthly taxes.

That Kingdom (which is purposely kept in a *starving condition*, Ireland why on to break the Lo. Inchequins Army, that Ireland may be a *receptacle for the Saints against England* spew's them forth) hath nothing but the envy of it, the sole benefit going to this Army. This 20000l. a month being a secret unknown to the common Souldiers, the *Grandees of the Army* put it in their own purses.

57

Moreover, this Army hath still a kind of free quarter, (under colour of lodging, fire and candel) for who sees not that these masterless guests upon that interest continued in our houses, do & will become Masters of all the rest? and who dares ask money for quarter of them, or accept it when it is colourably offered, without fear of farther harm? besides, the Army, (whose requests are now become Commands) demanded that they might have the leavying of this Tax, and that the accounts might be audited at the Head-quarters; and though the Officers of this Army (to catch the peoples affections) encouraged them often to Petition the Houies against Free-quarter, pretending they would forbear it, after an establishment settled upon them; the use their party in the House made of these Petitions, was to move for an Addition of 20000l. or 30000l. a month, and then they should pay their quarters, lodging, fire and candel, nay stable room too excepted.

Here it is not amiss to insert a word or two of this villainous oppression, Free-quarter; whereby we are reduced to the condition of conquered Slaves, no man being Master of his own Family, but living like Bond-slaves in their own Houses, under thele Egyptian Task-masters, who are spies and intelligencers upon our words and deeds, so that every mans table is become a snare to him. In the third year of King CHARLS, the Lords and

58

Fret-quarter.

and Commons in their Petition of Right (when not above 3000 or 3000 Souldiers were thinl; quartered upon the people but for a month or two) complained thereof to his Majesty as a great grievance contrary to the Laws and Customes of the Realm , and humbly prayed as their right and Liberty , according to the Laws and Statutes of thit Kingdom, that he would remove them, and that his people might not be so burthened in time to come , which his Majesty graciously granted. Yet now we are ten thousand times more oppressed with them , and if these quarterers offer violence or villanous usage to any man in his house or family, or commit murder or felony , they are protected against the Laws and Justice of the Land, and *Triable only by a Council of War* at the Head-quarters , where a man can neither obtain justice, nor seek it with safety. So that we live under the burthen of a perpetual

59
Martial Law.

Army of 30000 or 40000 men , exempt from all but Martial-Law , which frequently oppresseth, seldom righteth any man : witness Oliver Cromwel's takin of *Thompson* (being no Souldier) from the House of Commons door with Souldiers, imprisoning and condemning him at a Council of War , where he fale Iudg in his own cause, there being a quarrel between them ; yet it was held Treason in the Earl of Strafford , to condemn the Lord of Valentia so , being a Member of his Army , because it was in time of Peace , as this was. Many other examples we have of the like nature , and of this Army , enough to perswade us, that these *vix-dicative Saints* will not govern by the known Laws of the Land , (for which they have made us spend our money and blood) but by Martial Law , and Committee Law, grounded upon Arbitrary Ordinances of Parliament , which themselves in the first part of *exact Collections*, p. 727. confess, are not laws without the Royal assent.

This Army hath been dayly recruited without any Authority, far beyond the said number or pay established ; the supernumeraries living upon free-quarter; and when complaints have been made thereof in the Houie , the Army being quartered in several Brigades, supernumeraries have been disbanded in one brigade, & their Arms taken by their Officers , and shortly after they have been listed again in another Brigade , and their Arms sold again to the State, after a while to new Arm them. And of this sort

60
Cheats put up on the Stage.

were

The History of Independency.

were those Arms which being found in a Magazin in Town by some Zealots, and rumoured to belong to the City for the arming of Reformado's, were upon examination found to belong to Oliver Cromwel: so the busines was buried in silence; "for though the Kings oversights must be tragically published to the world, yet the haynous crimes of the godly must lye hid under the mask of Religion.

And though they have usually taken free-quarter in one place, and taken Composition money for free-quarter in another place, some of them in two or three places at once 3 s. a day, some of them 5s for a Trooper, and 1s a day, and 1s. 6d. for a foot soldier, whereby no arrears are due to them, but they owe money to the State; yet they have compelled the Houles to settle upon them for pretended Arrears.

1 The moiety of the Excise (that they may have the Souldiers help in leavying it; although to flatter the people, the Army had formerly declared against the Excise.)

2 The moiety of Goldsmith-hall.

3 Remainder of Bishops Lands.

4 The Customs of some Garrisons.

5 Forrest Lands.

This Army brags *They are the Saviours (nay Conquerours) of the Kingdom.* Let them say when they saved it, whether at the Fight at Nazeby, or taking in of Oxford, and we will pay them according to the then list. And for all the recruits taken since the reducing of Oxford, it is fit they be disbanded without pay, having been taken in without, nay, against Authority, to drive on wicked designs, and enthrall King, Parliament, City, and Kingdom.

24 Decemb. 1647. The two Houses by their Commissioners presented to the King (at Carisbrook-Castle) 4 Bills to be passed as Acts of Parliament, and divers Propositions to be assented to. They are all printed, so is his Majesties Answers to them, wherefore I shall need to say the leis of them, only a word or two to two of the Bills.

3 The Act for raising, setting, and maintaining Forces by Sea and Land, within the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, &c. for the Wales, &c. (though it seems to be but for 20 years) devests the Militia.

Arrears seem'd
although the
State ows
t on nothing.

62
Dethroning
Bills present'd
to the King
at carisbrook
Castle.

King,

L

King, his Heirs, and Successors, of the power of the Militia for ever, without hope of recovery but by repealing the said Act, which will never be in his nor in their power: for,

First, it saith, *That neither the King, nor His Heirs, or Successors, nor any other, shall exercise any power over the Militia by land or sea, but such as shall Act by authority and approbation of the said Lords and Commons:* That is, a Committee of State, of twenty or thirty Grandees, to whom the two Houses shall transfer this trust, being over-awed by the Army, (for the ground-work of this Committee was laid by these words, though the Committee be erected since.)

And Secondly, it prohibiteth the King, His Heirs and Successors, &c. after the expiration of the said 20 years, to exercise any of the said powers without the consent of the said Lords and Commons, and in all cases wherein the said Lords and Commons shall declare the safety of the Kingdom to be concerned after the said 20 years expired, and shall pass any Bills for raising, Arming, &c. Forces by Land or Sea, or concerning Leaving of Money, &c. if the Royal assent to such Bills shall not be given by such a time, &c. then such Bills so passed by the Lords and Commons shall have the force of Acts of Parliament without the Royal assent. Lo, here a foundation laid to make an *Ordinance of both Houses* equal to a *Act of Parliament*, and take away the *King's Negative Voice*, if this be granted in one case, it will be taken in another, and then these subverters of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, will turn their usurpations into a legal Tyranny.

2 It gives an unlimited Power to the two Houses to raise what Forces, and what numbers for Land and Sea, and of what persons (without exceptions) they please, and to employ them as they shall judge fit.

3 To raise what Money they please for maintaining them, and in what sort they think fit, out of any mans Estate. This is a Tax far more Arbitrary and unlimited than Ship-money, and the more terrible because it depends upon the will and pleasure of a multitude; who to support their own tyranny, and satisfie their own hunger after other mens goods, may and do create a necessity, and then make that *necessity* the law and rule of their actions

ons and our suffering: besides, they are but our fellow subjects that usurp this Dominion over us, which aggravates the indignity. If the 24 *Conservators of the Peace* in H.m. 3^r time, were thought a burden to the Commons, and called to identify *tyranny*; what will our Grandees prove when the Power of the Sword is theirs by *Act of Parliament*? Besides, if the King give them his Sword, they may take all the rest of the Propositions demanded without a Treaty.

The Bill for engagement of both Houses to any other place, &c. Bill for ad-
will enable the engaged Party of the two Houses and Army to ad- journ the two Houses from time to time, to, or near the Head- quarters of the Army; where those Members that refuse to en- as well for place as time.
ter into the same Engagement, shall neither sit with accommodati- on nor safety, and so be shaken off at last: this is a new way of pur- ging the Houses. Besides, the Parliament following the motions of the Army, the King shall follow the Parliament, whereby the Army having both King and Parliament present with them, what- soever attempt shall be made against the Army shall be said to be against the safety and Authority of the King and Parliament, and a legal Treason, triable by Indictment, not a constructive Tre- son only triable before the Lords.

Note this Message to the King, *plus significat quam loquitur*, though it holdeth forth but four Demands to open view, yet it includes five; for, if the King passe these four Bills, as Acts of Parliament, either He must do it by His Personal Presence in the House of Peers, or by His Commission under the Great Seal; and so consequently must confirm the Parliaments Great Seal, and all things done by it, (to the nullifying His own Great Seal at Oxford.) His personal presence they will not admit; for, though they pretended heretofore they took up Arms to bring the King to his Parliament, yet now they continue in Arms to keep Him from His Parliament, lest the prelence of the true Sun should obscure such Meteors, and *Ignis fatui*, as they are. Though this may be Godly and Saint-like dealing, yet is it not plain nor fair dealing, *latet anguis in herba*, there is *Coloquintida*, nay death in the pot.

Monday 3 Jan. the Kings Answer to the said Bills and Proposi- tions was debated in the House of Commons. And first, Sir Tho. The Kings an- mas Wroth (Jack Pudding to Prideaux the Post-master) had his ^{wer debated.} cue

one to go high, and feel the pulse of the House; who spake to this purpose, *That Bedlam was appointed for mad-men, and Topher for Kings: that our Kings of late had carried themselves as if they were fit for no place but Bedlam: that his humble motion should consist of three parts.*

1 *To secure the King, and keep him close in some inland Castle with sure guards.*

2 *To draw up Articles of Impeachment against him;*

3 *To lay him by, and settle the Kingdom without him; he cared not what forms of Government they set up, so it were not by Kings and Devils.*

Then Commissary Ireton (seeming to speak the sense of the Army, under the notion of many thousand Godly men who had ventured their lives to subdue their enemies) said after this manner, *The King had denied safety & protection to his people by denying the four Bills; his subjection to him was but in lieu of his protection to his people; this being denied, they might well deny any more subjection to him, and settle the Kingdom without him: That it was now expected, after so long patience, they should shew their Resolution, and not desert those valiant men who had engaged for them beyond all possibility of retreat, and would never forsake the Parliament, unless the Parliament forsook them first.*

*cromwell's
Speech.* After some more debate, when the House was ready for the question, Cromwell brought up the rear, and giving an ample Character of the valour, good affections, and godliness of the Army, argued; *That it was now expected the Parliament should govern and defend the Kingdom by their own power and resolutions, and not teach the people any longer to expect safety and government from an obstinate man, whose heart God had hardened: That those men who had defended the Parliament from so many dangers with the expence of their Blood, would defend them herein with fidelity and courage against all opposition. Teach them not by neglecting your own and the Kingdoms safety (in which their own is involved) to think themselves betrayed, and left barefster to the rage and malice of an irreconcilable enemy whom they have subdued for your sake; and therefore are likely to find His future Government of them insupportable, and fuller of Revenge than Justice, left despair teach them to seek their safety by some other means than adhering to you,*

you, Who will not stick to your selves; and how distractives such a resolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think, and leave you to judge.

Observe, he laid his hand upon his Sword at the latter end of his speech; that Sword that being by his side could not keep him from trembling when S. Philip Stapleton baffled him in the House of Commons.

This concluding Speech having something of menace in it, was thought very prevalent with the House.

The first of the four questions being put, *That the two Houses should make no more Addresses nor Applications to the King;* the House of Commons was divided, 141 yeas, to 91 noes, so it was carried in the Affirmative.

66

The 4 Bills for
no addresses
nor applicati-
on passed.

The other three Votes followed these Votes with facility: See them in print. Upon the last of these 4 Votes the House was divided, and candels were Voted to be brought it only to tell the House; yet (contrary to the said Order) when the candels were in, they proceeded farther, as followeth:

The Members had been locked into the House of Commons from before nine of the clock in the morning to seven at night, ^{tee of Safety} and then the doors were unlocked, and what Members would, suffered to go forth, wherby many Presbyterians thinking the House had been upon rising, departed, when presently the House being grown thin) the Vote to revive the Committee of both Kingdoms called the Committee of Safety at Derby house, passed by Ordinance dated 3 Jan. 1647. in these words; *Resolved, &c. That the powers formerly granted by both Houses to the Committee of both Kingdoms, (viz. England and Scotland) in relation to the two Kingdoms of England and Ireland, be now granted and vested in the Members of both Houses only that are of that Committee, with power to them alone, to put the same in execution.* The original Ordinance that first erected this Committee, and to which this said Ordinance relates, beareth date 7 February 1643. in which the English Committees were appointed from time to time, to propound to the Scottish Commissioners whatsoever they should receive in charge from both Houses, and to make report to both Houses, to direct the managing of the War, and to keep good correspondence with foreign States, and to receive directions

67

from time to time from both Houses, and to continue for three months and no longer. But this Ordinance, *2 January 1647.* vests the said power in the Members thereof only: and alone: words excluding the two Houses; and for a time indefinite.

* There were then added to this Committee, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, in place of Sir Ph. L. Stortford; *Sir John Evelyn junior*, in place of M. R. E. L. Say and Corder; and the Earl of Kent, instead of the Seal. Peil, L. Marbury, Jr., L. R. Berts, Earl of Essex. *22 Jan.* following, the Lord's will. Pierrepont, Sir Hen. Vane jun. sent down a Message for a farther power to Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sr. will. Armine, this Committee; which was granted in these words, *Power to suppress Tumults and Insurrections, Rob. Marlopp, Oliver St. Johns, Sol. O. Cromwell, Sam. Brown, Nathaniel Fiennes Sr. & Jo. Evelyn junior.* for that purpose the Committee to have power to give Orders and Directions to all the Militia and Forces of the Kingdom.

The addition of four Lords and eight Commoners likewise to this Committee was desired, but denied.

63 Friday 14 January, after a long debate, it was ordered t' at Whitehall and the Mews Gar-
risoned.

* See Judge Jenkins's Re-
monstrance to the Lords and
Commons of Parliament,
21 Feb. 1647. and
the Mews Gar-
risoned.

Traytors at the Kings Bench; the Grand Jury had found the Bill against Jenkins. Mr Solicitor, &c. appointed to manage this business, * but Jenkins is so great a Lawyer, that the Solicitor durst not venture upon him, the long Sword being more powerfull in his mouth than the Law; wherefore the Solicitor found an Errour in the indictment, turned him back again upon the House to be impeached before the Lords, to whose Jurisdiction he pleaded: so the Solicitor put the affront from himself upon the Houses. It was now twelve of the clock, and many of the Independent party began to cry, *Rise, rise;* The Presbyterians thinking all had been done, many went to Dinner, yet the Independents sat still, and finding the House for their turn, moved, *That a Letter might be forthwith sent to Sir Thomas Fairfax, to send a convenient number of Foot to Garrison White-hall, and a party of Horse to quarter in the Mews.* The Lords concurrence was not desired to this Vote, but the Letters immediately drawn and sent.

Observe, that before this Vote passed, divers forces were upon

upon their March towards the Town, and came to White-hall Saturday following by eight of the Clock in the morning.

Saturday 15 Jan. The Army sent a Declaration to the House of Commons, *Thanking them for their 4 Votes against the King, promising them to live and die with the Commons, in defence of them & against all Opponents.*

Many of the Lords had argued very hotly against the said four Votes, inasmuch that it was 10 Lords to 10; but this engagement of the Army, and the unexpected garrisoning of White-hall, and the Mews, turned the scales; so that they passed the said 4 Votes, on the 4 Votes. 69
The Armies Declaration, thanking the Commons for their 4 Votes.
70 Th. Lords pass the 4 Votes.

Three or four days after the Lords had passed the said 4 Votes, the Army vouchsafed to spit thanks in their mouths, and make much of them. These 4 Votes were generally sinisterly taken, and The Army thanks the Lords. 71
filled mens minds with suspicion, what form of Government the Lores. Grandees would set up, now they had laid by the King; and every mans mind presaged a new War, which they conceived the Independent Grandees were willing to have, to colour their keeping up this Army, and raising money to maintain them; and every man began to lay the project of a new war at their doore: notwithstanding, (by way of prevention) they had Impeached divers Members, and Citizens of London, for endeavouring a new War, when they did but raise men for their self-defence.

To shew the people therefore the reason of these 4 Votes, the Independent Grandees appointed a Committee to search into the Kings conversation and errors of his Government, and publish them in a Declaration to the World: wherein they objected many high crimes against H'm, concerning His Fathers death, the loss of Roche, and the Massacre and Rebellion in Ireland: which upon debate in the House, were very much moderated by the Presbyterians; of which Declaration I will only say, that they have set forth no new matter therein, which they have not formerly published in parcels, since which time they have 72 The Declaration on against the King.

have taken, and caused others to take the National Covenant; whereby they vow to maintain the King's Person, Crown and Dignity, in defence of Religion, Laws, and Liberties: and therefore to reprint only the same things as Arguments to lay by the King, favours more of design, than justice.

I will wade no farther in the censure of the said Declaration, lest I imitate the authors of it; and as they by a feeble accusation have done the King much right, so by a weak defence should do him much wrong.

⁷³ The people were as ill satisfied with this Declaration, as with *Tho Haffering's* the 4 Votes; wherefore (24 Feb.) Mr. Speaker, with much Letter concerning seriousness, presented to the House a Letter out of Leicestershire from *Thomas Haffering*, (brother to Sir *Arthur*) which was read, to this purpose, *That there was one Mr. Smalling, a Committee man of Leicestershire, who had been a Deputy examiner in the Star-Chamber, and affirmed, that above twenty years since there being a suit in Star-Chamber between the Earl of Bristol Complainant, and the Duke of Buckingham Defendant, concerning Physick presumptuously administered by the said Duke to King James; the said Smalling took many Depositions therein, and was farther proceeding in the Examinations, until a Warrant, signed by the King, was brought him, commanding him to surcease, and to send him the Depositions already taken; which Smalling did: yet kept notes by him of the Principal passages, doubting what farther proceedings might be hereafter in a business of such importance.* Sir *Henry Mildmay* moved that *Smalling* be sent for, and examined upon Oath by the Committee that penned the said Declaration; but upon motion of the Presbyterians, he was Ordered to be examined at the Commons Bar. *Smalling* came, produced the Warrant, but no Notes, so this *Chimera* vanished.

What the said Committee would have made of this, who knows? God bless us all from clandestine examinations, especially when they are taken by parties pre-engaged.

³ *Carol:* This business had been ventilated and examined against the Duke, and no mention made of poisoning or killing King *James*; it was then only called, *An Act of high presumption and dangerous consequence in the Duke*: nor was there then the least reflection upon King *Charles*; yet now because King *Charles* dissolved

dissolved that Parliament, the Independent party were willing to raise a suspicion against him concerning His Fathers death: whereas the accusation against the Duke of *Buckingham*, & *Caroli*, contained 7 or 8 Charges against him, the least whereof might occasion the dissolving of that Parliament.

These desperate courses (to dishonour the King, and make Him uncapable of Government, to ruine His Person, Crown and Dignity, and extirpate Monarchy root and branch) were taken in order to the usurping the Kingly power into the Grandees of the Parliament and Army, and in case they could not purge the two Houses, and make them wholly Independent, (which they now despair of) then into the Hands of the Committee, or Council of State at Derby-house, and Grandees of the Army. In order to which, they are now contriving to strengthen the said Committee with more power and more Members, and to adjourn the Parliament, and send down the Presbyterian Members into the Country upon pretence of service, where if any Tumults happen (for which their extortions will give sufficient provocation) the said dissenting Members shall bear the blame; and have blank Impeachments given them to purge them out of the Houses, if not out of the world, or at least be sequestred: for now they have squeezed what they can out of the Kings party by Sequestrations, the next fewel to their covetousness is to sequester the Presbyterians; and then to sequester one another: for they are already divided into *Pure Independents* and *Mixed Independents*, and have feuds amongst themselves, for this faction (initiate with money and blood) are all beasts of prey; and when they want prey, will prey one upon another: nor shall the Houses meet above one month or two in a year to ratifie and approve what Derby-house, and the Junto of the Army shall dictate to them; and to give an account to the domineering party how each Member hath carried himself in the Country. Thus instead of one King, we shall have twenty or thirty Tyrants in chief, and as many subordinate Tyrants as they please to employ under them, with the Iron yoke of an Army to hold us in subjection to their Arbitrary Government.

74
Why the independentists went so high against the King: To usurp the royal power into themselves, either in the H. purged, or in the Committee of Safety at Derby house.

Notwithstanding the aforesaid four Votes and Resolutions, the Cabal of Grandees still keep *Ashburnham* and *Barkley* in the said 4 Votes,

Army, and have sent divers Turn-coat Cavaliers and Emisaries under-hand disguised to the King, who pretending that by Bribes they had bought their admission to Him, after some insinuations endeavour with false and deceitfull news and arguments to shake His constancy, and perwade him to pass the said 4 dethroning Bills, (for these Usurpers of Sovereign Authority long to turn their armed and violent Tyranny into a legal Tyranny) or (at least) to make him declare against the Scots coming in. In both which cases He will dis-heaten His Friends (who endeavour to take the golden reigns of Government out of the gripes of these *Phantoms*, and restore them again to His hand) unking Himself and His Posterity for ever, be carried up and down like a stalking Horse to their Designs, and be Crowned *Lndibrio Corona*, with straw or thorns. For who can think that at the end of twenty years, these Usurpers will lay down what they have so unjustly, contrary to all Laws, Divine and Humane, and contrary to their own Declarations, Oathes and Covenants, extorted? And who can, or dare, wrest these powers out of their hands, being once settled & grown customary in them; the peoples spirits broken with an habitual servitude; a numerous Army and Garrifons florering over them; and all places of Iudicature filled with corrupt Judges, who shall by constrained interpretations of the Law, force bloody presidents out of them, against whosoever shall dare to be so good a Patriot as to oppose their Tyranny? They could make Steel sharp enough to cut Captain *Burles* throat for attempting to rescue the King out of the hands of a *Rebellious Army*, that neither obeys King nor Parliament, will find gold and silver enough to corrupt all the Judges: the mean to prefer and make them wild and wild enough for their purposes. But it is hoped He hath more of a King, more of man in Him than to leele his Principles, and stumble again at the same stone, dash again upon the same Rock, whatsoever Syrens sing upon it; knowing He hath a Son at liberty to revenge His wrongs, all the Princes of Christendom His Allies, whose common cause is controverted in His sufferings; the greatest men of England and Scotland of His blood, and the People generally (whose farthest design was, to preserve their Laws and Liberties, and to defend the Parliament from being conquered by the Sword)

Sword) looking with an angry look upon these Seducers , who by insensible degrees , and many forgeries have ingaged them further than they intended , not to the Defence of Religion , Laws , and Liberties , but to the setting up of Schisms , Committee Law , and Martial Law , Impeachments before the Lords , and unlimited slavery .

And I am confident this Faction despair of working upon the King , who like a Rock is *mediis tutsissimus undis* , whatsoever reports they give out-to the contrary , having from the beginning made lies their refuge , which being wisely foreseen by the King , He sent a Message to both Houses , (by way of prevention) delivered in the Painted Chamber by the Lords of Londerdale , one of the Scots Commissioners , consisting of three heads ,

- 1 That He was taken from Holdenby against His will .
- 2 That they should maintain the Honour and Privileges of Parliament .

3 That they should believe no Message as coming from Him during His Restraint in the Army , but should only credit what they received from His own mouth .

These Grandees have cheated all the interests of the Kingdom , and have lately attempted the City again , and had the repulse . But the King is their old Customer , and hath been often cheated by them , and having him in strict custody , peradventure they may perswade Him it is for His safety to be deceived once more : wherefore (notwithstanding their many endeavours to root up Monarchy , dethrone the King , and His Posterity , and usurp his power ; in order to which , they have over-whelmed Him , and all His , with innumerable calamities and reproaches) yet since the passing of the Declaration against the King , their desperate condition hath enforced them to make new Addresses in private to Him , notwithstanding their four Votes indicting the *penalitie of Treason upon the Infringers* : But Treason is as natural to Cromwel , as false accusing , protesting , and lying ; he is so superrative a Traytor , that the Laws can lay no hold on him . Lieutenant Colonel Lilburn in a verbal Charge delivered at the Commons Bar , accused him of many treasonable Acts , which he avowed to make good : and in his Book , called , *A Plea for a Habeas Corpus* : But as if Cromwel were a Traytor cum privilegio ,

the House of Commons, (being under their Armed Guards) dares take no notice of it. But the *Roman Tribunz* said to *Scipio Africanus*, in *Livy*, *Qui ius aquum ferre non potest, in eum vim hand in-justam fore*, he that exalts himself above the Law, ought not to be protected by the Law.

To conclude, *Cromwel* hath lately had private conference at *Tarnham* with *Hammond*.

The Earl of *Southampton* hath been courted to negotiate with the King, and offered the two Speakers hands for his warrant.

Capt. Tissu taken into favour and employed that way.

The *Grandees* have brought themselves into a mist, and now wander from one foolish design to another.

The Spaniard is said to forecast in his debates, what will happen forty years after. But these publind Politicians do not foresee the event of their Council forty days, nay hours beforehand; but it is a curse laid upon wicked men, to grope at noon day.

76 About the 5 or 6 of Jan. 1647. the Scots Commissioners had
Hou. of Com - written certain Letters to the House of Commons; one whereof
shows upon the repeating the 4 Votes against the King, propounded to know,
Scots Letter 5, whether the Houses by their Votes, ¹ hat no person whatsoever do pre-
² Concerning sume to make or receive any Application or address to, or from the
the 4 Votes.

King, would debar the Scots to make or receive any Addresses to, or
from Him, and so put an incapacity upon Him to perform acts of Go-
vernment towards them. In the debate the Independents called to
mind a more antient Vote, whereby it was Ordered, That the
Scots might be admitted to the King. Against which was alle-
ged, That these latter Votes, being made general, without excep-
tion, Repealed that former Vote. At last by an interpretative Vote
it was concluded That notwithstanding the said four latter Votes,
the former Vote, That the Scots Commissioners might make Ad-
dresses to the King, was still in force. Observe that this was done
four or five days after the Scots Commissioners were on their way
towards Scotland.

Concerning The second Letter was concerning 100000l. due by contract
100000l. due to the Scots from the Parliament, whereof 50000l. was payable
the Scots. by assignment to divers Scots Gentlemen who had advanced mo-
ney to hasten the Scots Army to our relief; whereof 10000l. was
payable to the Earl of Argyle.

Sir Henry Mildmay made a long Speech in praise of Argyle ; saying That he and his party, and the Scottish Clergy, were the only men that upheld the English interest in Scotland , and were better friends to us than all Scotland besides : wherefore he moved, that Argyle might be paid his 10000l. and the rest continued at interest , at 8 l. per cent . Presently the whole Independent gang, with much zeal, and little discretion, ran that way , until more moderate men stopping them in full cry , minded them what dishonour and danger they might bring their friend into by laying him open to suspicion .

After this it was resolved to send 4 Commons and 2 Lords into Scotland as Commissioners , with instructions . To send all others sent into Independents , would not be acceptable ; 2. Presbyterian Commissioners therefore were sent , one whereof was sweetened with the guift of 1000l. and an Office , before they would trust him : with them were sent Mr. Heart , and Mr. Marshall .
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Marshall , when he saw Independency prevail , had secretly turned his coat the wrong side outward , and joyned interest with M. Mr. Marshall . Ny ; but before he declared himself , he was to do some service for his new party : wherefore when the Army looked with a threatening posture upon the Parliament and City , before they marched through London , (the common Souldiers being in such discontent for want of pay , that they were ready to mutiny and disband , and their Officers scarce daring to Govern them) the first fruits of Marshall's service to his new friends , was , to perswade the City to lend the Parliament 50000l. to pacifie the Soul-diers : assuring them by Letters , that the Army had nothing but good thoughts towards the City , only the common Souldiers were troubled for want of Pay : After the City had laid down the said 50000l. his next labour was , to perswade the Citizens to let the Army march through the City without opposition , for avoiding of bloodshed and firing ; and to let them passe the Tower , and Line of Communication . After these services , the Grandees of the Parliament and Army , finding him suitable to them , received him into an avowed favour , and then four Independents and four Presbyterian Divines (conjoyning their Interests) were sent to season the Army , and new tune them according to the more modern design : Marshall was one , where , after he had preached according to
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the Dictates of the Grandees of the two Houses and Army for divers weeks, *Marshall* was thought fit to attend the Commissioners into *Scotland*: He and Master *Nye* had been sent to *Carlif-broke Castle* formerly with those Commissioners that carryed the 4 Bills to the King, and had 500l. a piece given them for their journey.

Scotland, a longer journey, premised a ger reward; it is good being a Postilion of the Gospel at such rates.

The Sunday before he went, he preached at *Margarets Westminster*, and as much cried up Presbytery and the Covenant there, as he had before slighted them in the Army. This was a *Preparation Sermon*, to make him acceptable to the Scots, that he might cajole them the easier. Before he went he sent his Agents from house to house at *Westminster*, to beg mens good wills towards his journey. He was willing upon this pretence to get what he could from St. *Margarets* Parish, where he found the people to grow cold in their affections, and contributions to him. Wherfore having made his bargain before he went, to leave St. *Margarets*, and officiate in the *Abby* where he is to have 300l. per annum certain allowance, he would rob the *Egyptian* at Saint *Margarets* for a parting blow. This Priest marries his own Daughter with the Book of Common prayer and a Ring, and gave for reasoun, that the Statute establishing that Liturgie was not yet repealed, & he was loath to have his Daughter whored and wrned back upon him for want of a Legal Marriage: Yet he can declare against all use of it by others. He hath so long cursed *Mroz*, and neutrality, that he hath brought Gods curse upon the Land, and hath put Church and Commonwealth into a flame, but himself and his Brats have warmed their fingers at it: as Monies are decrided or enhaunsed by the Kings Authority, so is every mans Religion cried up or down by *Marshall's* authority and stamp.

About the 24 of *Febrn.*, the *Answer* to the *Scots Declaration* began to be debated in parts: in which Debate the *Covenant* was much undervalued, and called, *An Almanack out of Date*. *Nathaniel Fiennes* argued against it, That that clause in the *Covenant*, [*To Defend the King's Person, Crown, and Dignity, &c.*] was inconsistent with their four Votes, for making no *Addressees to the KING*: To which was answered by some,

That

That then they would relinquish the four Votes and adhere to the Covenant.

About the beginning of March, was given to Col. Sydenham and Col. Bingham 1000l. a piece as part of their Arrears; their Accounts not yet stated. To the Lord Brogbil 2000l. To Mr. Fenwick 500l. for losses. To Mr. Millington 2000l. for losses. To Col. Ven 4000l. notwithstanding it was moved he might first account for Contribution money, the plunder of the Country about Windsor, and the Kings Household-stuff, Hangings, Linnen, and Bedding. Mr. Purie the Petty-bag office, besides 1000l. formerly given him. To Purie's Son, the Clerk of the Peaces place, and 100l. a year: all *Independents*.

The 7 of March, an Ordinance passed the Commons to settle 2500l. a year land, out of the Marques of Worcesters estate, upon Lieut. Gen. Oliver Cromwel. I have heard some Gentlemen, that know the Mannor of Chepstow, and the rest of the Lands settled upon him, affirm, that in the particnlars the said lands are so favourably rated, that they are worth 5000l. or 6000l. a year: It is farther laid those lands are bravely wooded. You see though they have not made King CHARLES a glorious King, as they promised, yet they have settled a Crown Revenue upon Oliver, and have made him as great and glorious a K. as ever John of Leyden was. Wonder not that they conspire to keep up this Army, as well to make good these Largeesses, as to keep their guilty heads upon their Shoulders.

Thursday 9 March, the Lords sent a Message to the House of Commons, To desire their concurrence to the Ingagement of those Members that fled to the Army, to live and die with the Army. It was debated all day untill 7 of the clock at night; and at last the question put, That this House doth approve the subscription of the said Members to the said Ingagement. The House divided upon the question, yeas 100. noes 91.

Observe, 1 that Mr Solicitor H. Strelig, and many more, when they perceived difficulty in passing it, began to skirmish with their long Sword again. And many told them, they must live content without dores (meaning the Army) as well as within, else all would go naught.

2. 44 Of those Members that ingaged with the Army late in the

A Message fro
the Lords desir-
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The Ingagem.
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the House, and Voted in their own case ; many of them carrying themselves very high and insolent in their jestures and expressions.

3 Many Presbyterians left the House because it was late ; and some (as it is thought) not daring to Vote in the Negative.

4 This Engagement about six months ago had been sent to the Commons by the Lords, once or twice , and was rejected ; yet now was obtruded upon them again by the Lords , who would not acquiesce , contrary to the privileges of the House of Commons.

5 This approbation thus surreptitiously gotten , is equal to a Pardon sued forth before Conviction, which in Law amounteth to a Confession of the Crime.

⁵³ 6 The Agitators tel you in Derby-house Projects , pag.7. That
The temper of this Engagement was sent down to the Commons to try the temper of the House , and if the House had not approved of the Engagement, the resolution of their secret Counsel was to fly to their Arms , and
be approved, make a new Charge against their principal opposers ; for they act
a new Charge knowledge amongst themselves, That they Rule by Power only, and
from the Army that the House of Commons is no longer theirs than they overawed
intended. them, and that they fear the Critical day will come which will discover the Parliament to be no longer theirs than while they have a force upon it.

As men ready to sink embrace every shadow of help, and catch hold of leaves, twigs, and bulrushes, to support them; to these desperate and purblind protectors, having engaged themselves in a way of Tyranny out of which they can find no issue, lay hold of frivolous inventions to peice up from time to time their ill-laid designs, like the man in the parable, That patched up his old Garments with new cloath, which breaking out again left the rent wider than it was before.

Their last project was to unite all Interests in the Houses , City , and Army ; To which purpose Cromwel (the heaviest, basest, and most ridiculous Tyrant that ever any noble Nation groaned under) made a Speech in the House of Commons : To which was Answered , That the Members were chosen and trusted by the people , to pursue one common Interest, which was, the common good, the safety and Liberty of the People, and whosoever had any peculiar Interest eccentric

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A project to unite all Interests.

eccentric from that, was not fit to sit in that Assembly, and deserved to be called to a strict account by those that trusted him.

Observe, that the extent of this project was to conjoin these three Interests from upholding the greatness of the *Grandeet*, in the *Parliament*, *City*, and *Army*; for in all three the vulgar multitude, and the more modest and honest sort, are but in the same condition with other men: the Parliament bearing the *Authority*, the Army the *Sword*, and the City the *purse*.

The first, shall be the Task-masters, and impose Tribute.

The second, the Sheriff, or rather free-booters, to leavy it by distresses.

And the third, the Brokers, to receive and buy it off.

But it pleased God to bestow so much providence and integrity upon the City, that when upon Saturday 8. April, 1646. *Cromwell* and his fellow *Grandees* offered this temptation (at a Common-Council) to them,

* The City grew wiser than our first Parents, and rejected the Serpent and his subtleties, insomuch that *Cromwell* netted with the affront, called his Solicitor *Glover* to account by what Authority he had offered the *restitution of the Tower and Militia*, and the *enlargement of their accused Aldermen*: who answered, *he did it by his Authority*, and delivered him a *Warrant* to that purpose, signed by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, *Oliver Cromwell*, Mr. *Solicitor*, and young Sir *Henry Vane*, which *Cromwell* had the impudence to put in his pocket.

Cromwell had felt the pulse of the City long before by his Agents *Glover* and *Watkins*, and found them averse from complying with him: wherefore (being a man of an early, as well as an implacable malice) he (by the advice of the Committee of Derby-bone) cast about with the Schismatical Lord Mayor *Warner*, & he a Tumult, that raised the ridiculous Tumult at Christmas about Rosemary and B. yes, a man that had been chosen Mayor by power of Parliament, (out of course) to carry on the design of the faction) and with the Lieutenant of the Tower, how to put the City into some distemper, of which they might take advantage. The Citizens were well acquainted with their juggling tricks, they had no hopes to work upon them: wherefore they contrived how to put a provocation upon the silly Apprentice Boys, and put them

See the Argument against all accommodation between the City and *Grandeet*, &c. and the reasonable caution to the City, printed at the latter end of this Book.

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A device to put the Apprentices into

forth into some rash action , of which they might make use to carry on their designes against the whole City : wherefore upon Easter-day, 1648. in the evening some few apprentices playing in Finnisbury fields , some Souldiers were sent to drive them away ; which they did , and imprisoned some of them for not readily ~~o.~~ baying : upon Sunday following , 9 April , divers Apprentices being at play (according to custome) in Moor-fields , the Mayor sent Capt Gale (one of the new Captains of the Hamlets , a Silk. Throster , and a Tub-preacher , and one that ran away at the fight at Newbury Wash , and hid himself in a Ditch , as my L. Wharton at the Battle of Keynton hid himself in a Saw-pit) thither to disturb them , with about 50 or 60 of his Trained Band , and no more ; (that he might the better encourage the Boys to resist him) who furlily asking them *What they did there ?* some of them answered , *they did no harm but only play ; and since all Holy dayes have been Voted down , they had no other time of Recreation :* The Captain insolently commanded them to be gone ; they replied , *he had no authority so to do ,* and continued playing : whereupon the Captain commanded his Musquetiers to shoot amongst them ; which they forbearing , he took a Musket himself , and disch arged amongst them , when presently two or three schismatical Musquettiers of his Company following his example , discharged upon them likewise , and killed (or , as the Schismatics say , wounded only) one of the Boyes : whereat the Boys making a great out-cry , more company gathered to them , and so with stones , brick-bats , and sticks , they dispersed the Trained Band , and at last got their Colours , and instantly in a childish jollity-marched (un-armed as they were) towards the Mewes , when presently a party of Hors (ready prepared for this forelaid design) met them , charged , and with ease routed them ; Cromwel himself animating the Troopers *to shoot and spit them , and to spare neither man woman nor child .* All Sunday night the Apprentices kept in a body in the City , locked the City gates , but set no guards upon them ; whereby you may see this busynesse proceeded meerly from the rash and unpremeditated folly of Children , not from the advice of Men : howsoever the Independent faction in the House of Commons have since aggravated it : to countenance their future cruelty and rapines upon the City . Monday morning Sir Thos. Fairfax sent a strong

strong party into the City, who fell upon the Boyish rabble, routed and killed many, and shot poor Women great with Child, sitting in their stalls, one whereof the Child lived two hours in her belly after her brains were shot out: a man likewise not knowing of their coming, as he was drinking Milk at the corner of a street, was shot (as it were) in sport: as they rid, they cried, *Cuckolds keep your Houses*, cutting and wounding all they met; *Cromwel* (who followed in the rear safe enough; the Van having cleared the streets before him) cried out to them to *Fire the City*. Oh *Oliver*! what a barbarous *John of Leyden* art thou become? Oh *London*! how wretched a *Munster* wilt thou become? at last they drove those silly unarmed wretches into *Leaden-hall*, and took many of them Prisoners, none of the Trained Bands, nor Citizens, appearing to help those poor Boys, but leaving the Souldiers to get a bloody and boyish Triumph over them, as they pleased; they are now imprisoned in *Cromwells shambles* at *Whites-hall*. This is the truth of the businesse, notwithstanding, the long-winded lying report made by Alderman *Fonks*, at the Commons Bar; a man that hath feather'd his nest well these miserable times, and hath much publick money sticking to his fingers; who, when he gave in his accompt before the General Committee of Accounts, refused to give it in upon Oath, (as other men did) alleging *Magna Charta*, that no man was bound to accuse himself. It should seem he had somthing in his Conscience that would not endure the test of an Oath: but he is one of the Godly, and therefore the good things of this world belong unto him.

The House of Commons (upon this occasion) gave 1000 l. to the Souldiers for their valorous exploit, and Voted 1000 Foot, and 100 Horse to be kept in the Tower. The Garrisons of *White-hall* and the *Mewes* to be strengthned: 3 Barges capable of 50 Musqueters apiece to lie at *Whites-hall* for the Souldiers to convey themselves to any landing-place to disperse such watermen as shall assemble: The City Chains to be taken away from their Posts, and a Commission of *Oyer and Terminer* to issue forth to murder more of these Children legally.

The Mayor having kindled this fire in the City, stole out at a window disguised, and hid his foolish head in the Tower:

The House of Commons (over-ruled by the Grandees) Voted a day of thanksgiving for this delivery. So bold are these Saints , as to mock Gods holy name with impious devotions to colour their designs.

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The Lord Incbiquis, president of Munster, and General of the Army there , had a long time been heaved at by the Independent faction . The Lord Lisle , (who gaped after his employment) Sir John Temple , Cromwell , the Lord Broughall , Sir Arthur and Sir Adam Loftus , and others : who by obstructing all supplies of Money , Ammunition , Victual , Clothes , laboured to mutiny and disband his Army , that they might send Schismaticks of their own party to Lord it there , as they do here , and keep Ireland as a Retreat for the Saints : for the better effecting whereof they sent over many Emisaries , whom they had commended to him , to be officers in his Army . When this would not doe , they Printed scandalous Articles against him , and put infinite provocations upon him to incite him to doe that which they fally accused him to have done already ; But the many gallant services he performed since the publishing those Articles gave them the lie , and confuted all their flanders : at last (under colour of sending a supply of forces to him) they projected to surprise him , and bring him away prisoner ; so that he hath suffered all the convulsions that treacherous friends , and malicious enemies could put upon him . And lately (for the more close conveyance of the design .) the Houses sent three Commissioners towards Ireland , to survey his Actions ; but (as if it were purposely done) when the Commissioners came as far on their way as Bristol , about a dozen renegado Officers of his Army met the Commissioners and turned them back again . The said Officers posted up to the Parliament before the Commissioners , and the 13 April were called in to the Commons Bar , where they made a relation to the House to this purpose ; That the Lord Incbiquis having made an expedition into the County of Kerry , upon his return , sent for these Officers into his presence Chamber , and told them , He intended to declare against the Army and Independent party in England , who kept the King and Parliament under a force , That he would stand for the Liberty of the King and Parliament , and a free Conference to settle Peace ; and that he expected all his Officers should

should joyn with him in so honourable an undertaking ; but should take an Oath of secrecy, before he discoverd himself further to them. They Answered, They could make no such Oath before they knew whether they might with a safe conscience keep it, saying, they would be true to the Parliament. My Lord Inchiquin replied, So have I, and will be; delude me not with ambiguous words, do you mean this pretended Parliament? telling them farther, he had good correspondence with all the Presbyterians in Scotland and England, as well in the Parliament, as out of it; that he doubted not to go through with his undertaking; and if the worst hapned, to make good conditions for himself and his party. That he would make peace with my Lord Taff, (and that he knew the Independents in England were upon Treaty with Owen Roe Oneal) who was a man of their humour, and loved to keep all in combustion. They refused to jyn, he dismissed them for England. The same day Letters from Capt. John Cromwell (Vice-Admiral of the Irish Seas) from a shipboard, were read in the House, much to the same purpose, though not so large : wherein he said, He had already blocked up all my Lord Inchiquin's Havens.

Presently Allen the Goldsmith moved, That since the Lord Inchiquin had discovered that he had a correspondence with the Presbyterians in the House, before they dealt with their Enemies without doors, they shoulld try who were their Enemies within doors, by moving to put all men to some Covenant, Engagement, or Protestation, the House to &c. And Lieutenant General Cromwell laid, That being to debate this businesse to morrow, whosoever wish crosse Arguments Declaration, shall spin out the debate, and so retard our proceedings, (by my consent) shall be voted with a Black Coal: to which was answered, That this tended to take away freedom of debate, which was the life of Parliaments, and of all Councills; and was destructive to the very being of Parliaments.

It is not amisse to insert here by way of digression, what I formerly omitted: Sir Henry Mildmay long since moved, That 150 rich Guard Coats of the King, might be sold for 800 l. to find Fire and Candle for the Soldiers in White-hall. The question put: The Speaker gave judgement, the Yeas had it. Mr. Edward Stephens declared the Noes had it. They were unwilling to divide upon such a question: but Mr. Stephens persisted; and Robert Reynolds

Allen the
Goldsmith
shall be voted
with a Black Coal:

said aloud, notice shall be taken of him for putting such a dishonour upon the House. Upon the Division, the Noes carried it by nine voices. Thereupon, complaint was made against Reynolds, for attempting against the liberty of Voting, but no redressie.

But to returne from my digression: the next day (14 of April) it was moved that my Lord Inchiquin's Son, a Child of 8 or 9 years old, going to School at Thistletworth, might be secured in the Tower and kept for a Hostage. To which was Answered, That no man could take an Hostage without consent: an Hostage must be given upon the publique faith, upon some stipulation, and must be so received, by mutual agreement; you cannot punish the child for the Fathers fault; yet he was voted to the Tower, and sent. My Lord Inchiquin's Commission as President of Munster, and General of the Army, Voted void, and no man to obey him, himself Voted a Traitor; yet no man examined upon Oath against him, nor any man sent to take information of the businesse into Ireland, and his professed enemy the Lord Lisle, is to go General into Munster in his room; and the said fugitive Officers all rewarded, as if they had brought acceptable news.

This day Reynolds revived Allens motion for putting the Members to the Test, by some Covenant, Protestation, or Declaration, subscribed, That this is a free Parliament, and that they would live and die with this Parliament and Army: To which was answered,

1. That by Ordinance of both Houses, all men were enjoyned to take the National Covenant. This Covenant is the true Touchstone of the Parliament, and so agreed upon by the wisdom of both Nations; yet many sit here who refuse to obey this Ordinance: I know no reason therefore why any man should obey you in any other Ordinance of this Nature: let us keep the old Covenant before we take any new.

2. It hath been moved in the House, that the Oathes of Justices of Peace, and Sheriff, might be taken away: I hope you will not abolish legal Oathes, and impose illegal Oathes. This House hath not so much Authority, as to administer an Oath, much more to impose one: you must allow to others that liberty of Conscience which you demand for your selves.

3. Major Gray told you my Lord Inchiquin said he had correspondency with all the Presbyterians in the House, who had made

made their peace with the King. But my Lord Ischiquint told him farther, the Independents were upon Treaty with *Owen Roe*, and *O'Neal*, let them clear themselves of that imputation first before they give a purgation unto others, otherwife what you do will favour of force.

4. The true Touch-stone to try every mans integrity is to examine, who have enriched themselves by the calamities of the times and your service, and who are impoverished.

5. This is a new device to purge the House.

The Grandees of the House have cantonized the Kingdom between them, every man in his Division protecting the Country Committees, and receiving tribute from them in recompence of their protection; and *Prideaux* the Post-master being King of the *West Saxons*, his Vice-roy or Lord Deputy for the County of *Somerset* is that running Col. *John Pyne*, who being often inspired with *Sack*, rules the Committee and County by inspirations. *Tyne* and his Peers of the Committee, to please his superiors, set on their Votes afoot a draught of a Petition to be handed by the Country, giving thanks to the Parliament for the four Votes against the King, and promising to live and die with the Parliament and Army, and desiring the County might be freed from Malignants, Neuters, and Apostates, which (in their interpretation) signifies Presbyterians and moderate men, who will not dance about the flame when the Independents make a Bonfire of the Common-wealth. The Eastern Division of *Somerset-shire* rejected the Petition; in the Western Division *Pyne* and his Committee sending abroad his Sequestrators with the Petition, (threatened to take them for Malignants, and Sequester them that refused) got many Subscriptions; but the Subscribers since (better informed of the danger and mischief of those Votes) retracted what they had done by a counter Petition, wherein they declare, that their Subscription to the former Petition was contrary to their Judgement and Consciences, and extorted by the terror of Sequestrators, and threats of being Sequestred. This affront stung the Committee, and opened the eys of the Country: As the like foolish attempt of Sir *Henry Mildmay* did the eys of the County of *Essex*. Wherefore to find a Plaister for this broken pate, Sergeant *Wild* (he that hang'd Capt. *Burly*) coming that Circuit, care was taken to have a select Grand-

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The Countries
compelled to
give thanks to
the Houles for
gaining the King

Iury of Schismaticks and Sequestrators blended together , who made a presentment subscribed by 19 of their hands , which Sergeant *Wyld* preserved in his pocket ; and upon Tuesdys 18 April , delivered with as much gravity as a ser speech and a set roste could furnish him withall in the House of Commons , and was read and hearkned unto by the thriving Godly , with as much attention , as pricking up of eares , and turning up of eyes could demonstrate : the Contents of this presentment were the same with the aforesaid revoked Petition . Great care was taken to give thanks to the High Sheriff and Grand Jury , who had so freely delivered the fence of that wel-afflicted County : and as much care taken to improve this Talent and put it to interest thonghout the Kingdom . Collonel *Purefoy* is now at his work in *Warwick-shire* . Sir *Arthur Heslerig* about *Newcastle* , others in other places . Pitiful Crutches to support a criped reputation , which now halts , and begs for relief worse than their own misimed Souldiers do , and with as bad success , they have juggled themselves out of credit , and would fain juggle themselves in again . Behold the wisdom of our *Grandees* , wise , religiouſ , new-modelled Politicians , who have brought themselves and the whole Kingdom into these deplorable , contemptible straits ; take notice of your Representative , you that are represented , call them to a seafonable account : But whether doth my zeal carry me ? I shall aron Rumble upon a new fangled Treason to be declared against me , without , nay against Law .

Friday 21. April, An Ordinance was presented to the House ,
intituled, *For suppressing all Tumults and insurrections* (the Committee of Safety at Derby House had before an ample power conferred upon them for that purpose ; but guilty consciences , though they be safe , are never secure ; like *Cain* , they think that every man will fly them) it was passed after some amendments to this purpose , *That any three Committee-men shall have Power to Imprison and Sequester all such as shall actually adbere to any that shall raise or endeavour to raise Tumults and Insurrections ; or shall speak or publish any thing reproachful to the Parliament , or their proceedings* . Behold here an excise (amounting to the Value of all you have) set upon every light word ; a man made an offender for a word , to the utter ruine of him and his posterity , under colour

colour of defending *Laws, Liberties, and Properties*, you are cheated of them all, and reduced to meer and absolute slavery and beggary : you are not Masters of your own carcasses, yet your mouths are buttoned up ; you must not be allowed that silly comfort of venting your grieves by way of complaint ; what Tyrant was ever so barbarous, so indiscreet as to do the like ? It was moved that Offenders of this kind might be bound to the good behaviour , and the off:nees proved openly at the Assizes or Sessions , before so destructive a punishment be inflicted . There are three principles in Law , of which the Laws are very tender, and will not suffer them to be touched but upon great Offences, clear proofs , and exact formalities observed , *life, liberty, and estate* , by *Magna Charta*, the *Petition of Right*, and many other Statutes; these principles are so sacred , that nothing but the Law can meddle with them , *Nemo imprisionetur aut discessetur nisi per legale iudicium parium suorum*. You have made the people shed their money and blood abundantly, pretending defence of *Religion, Laws and Liberties* ; let them now at last (being a time of peace) enjoy what they have so dearly paid for ; and delay them not with a pretended necessity of your own making ; you now make all that is , or can be meer and deer to them , liable to the passions of three Committee-men, to judge and execute according to their discretion , without Law , or so much as a formality thereof : And yet both Houses of Parliament have often heretofore offered to abolish those Committees, as men whose wickednesse and folly they and the whole Kingdom were ashamed of . The Grandees of the Parliament and Army, when the Houses are called, and full , have resolved to draw their forces near about the Town , and by that terrour to trie the temper of the Houses ; such Members as will not comply with them , they will with fresh Charges purge out of the House , and publish base and infamous scandals against them , to which if they submit with silence , they betray their reputations for ever , and spare the credits of their jugling enemies ; If they make any defence for their honours by way of Apology, they shall be brought within the compasse of this devouring, in-slaving Ordinance , as *men that reproach the Parliament, and their Proceedings*. Thus the same whip shall hang over the shoulders of the Presbyterian party , (who will not agree to *King-deposing*

Anarchy and Schism) as it did formerly over the Kings party. And the Presbyterians shall be squeezed into the Independents coffers, as formerly the Kings party were, so long as they had any thing to lose; for the whole earth is little enough for these Saints, who are never satisfied with money and blood, although they never look towards Heaven but through the spectacles of this world. The old *elogium* and Character of th's English Nation was, that they were *Hilaris gens, cui libera mens & liberala lingua:* But now (Country-men) your tongues are in the Stocks, your bodies in every gaole, your souls in the dark, and estates in the mercy of those that haue no mercy, and at the disretions of those that have no discretion: Farewell English liberty.

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The Kentish
Committee-
War.

In the Epistle to this book, I haue given you an account of the bloody Answer given to the *Surrey Petitioners*, May 16. 1648. I must in the next place speak something of the *Kentish Petition*, and of the *Committee-war* they raysed to oppose it; which took hisrising and beginning partly from the intolencies and oppressions of their tyrannical *Committee-men*, (persons for the most part of weak fortunes, and weaker wits) and partly from the frantick zeal of the Mayor of *Canterbury* (who for his Religion, prudence and honesty, may well be younger brother to *Warner Lord Mayor of London*) upon *Christmas day*, 1648. sundry people going to the Church of *Canterbury* to solemnize that day, were uncivilly interrogated, and roughly handled by the Mayor, as if it were superstition, nay impety to serve God on that day; or as if some dayes were exempted from serving God, as some days are exempted from worldly labour: This grew to a Tumult, which the Committee of the County hearing, they presently gathered forces to make ostentation of their power in suppressing it, but were prevented by intelligence that all was quiet; but this quietnesse was rather a truce, than a lasting peace, a desire of revenge against the Mayor for wounding some of the People, like fire hid under ashes, broke forth two dayes after, but was presently pacified by the discreet indeavours of Sir *W. Man*, Ald. *Sabin*, and Mr. *Lovelace a Lawyer*. The Committee of that County presently assable forces, with which (together with their Chaplins and other instruments of war) they march to reduce the City, and (though they had newes that all was appeased) yet would they not believe it, but continued

nued their march in triumph; where finding the Gates open, they took them off and burnt them, threw down part of their Walls, thereby degrading the City, and turning it into a Village, as a trophy of their high indignation; committed many to Prison upon light suspitions, amongst whom, the aforesaid 3 Peacemakers, for being so saucy as to compose the difference, and thereby deprive their *highnesses* of a Triumphant Victory. For these upstart Committees mounted above the sphere of their activity, and having stolen his Majesties Sword (His principal marke of Sovereignty wherewith he protects his people) out of his Scabbard, know not how to use it, but to the destruction of the people: like ill-natured Children, they have gotten a gay thing, and must do mischief with it. And for farther magnifying of their power to the Country, and their diligence to the Parliament, they charged the prisoners with High Treason, and so forgot them languishing in Gaol, had not those Gentlemen remembered themselves and clamoured for a Trial; which at last was granted them by a Commission of *Oyer and Terminer* to Sergeant *Wyld*, and Sergeant *Creswell*: the Inuries were men known to be well-affectioned to the Parliament, who found *Ignoramus* upon the Bill, and (notwithstanding many checks and taunts from the Committee, and the refusing of the return) adhered to that the Court adjourned for some months: Hereupon the Kentish men fearing the tyrannical disposition of their Committees, consulted with the said Grand Jury upon the place concerning a Petition to the Parliament for *Peace*, to end our distractions; which Petition was subscribed by the Grand Jury, in the name of the whole County. The Committee jealous that these things would hearten the People, and loosen the bond of that slavish fear, wherein they had hitherto held them captive, printed, and caused to be published in all Churches & Paper prohibiting the same Petition, and branding it with the name of *sedition* and *tumultuous*, saying, *they would hang two in every Parish that were promoters of it, and sequester the rest*. And endeavoured first to raise forces in the County; but at last made their complaint to the Army. When the Country saw their just desires like to be suppressed by Arms, and themselves to be still Committee-ridden, they resolved upon a place of meeting to promote their Petition, and

to come Armed thicker for their own defence only. But the County Committee plied their businesse so well with the Committee of *Derby House* and the Army, that they first drew a party of Horse into the County, who committed many murders according to Custome, and then the whole Army which at *Blackheath* encamped on the same place where the Petitioners intended to *Rendezvous*. So the result of all is but this : The whole County of *Kent* oppressed by a tyrannous Committee, and a lingring war, now likely to be renewed, prepare to present a Petition to the Parliament for *Peace*, and had appointed a day and place of meeting, which by reason of the large extent of the County they could not alter at the pleasure of the Committee : and being terrified by the menaces and warlike preparations of the said Committee, brought their Arms with them in order only to self-defence, (allowed by the Laws of God and Man, and by the doctrine and practice of this Parliament and Army ; and peradventure induced thereto by the sad Massacre of the *Surry* Petitioners) The Committee to support their usurped, illegal authority, invite an Army to break in upon them with fire and sword, and so enforced them upon thoughts and actions of War, never before thought on : as will appear.

1. Because many of the Petitioners went home the next day after the *Rendezvous*.

2. The County had provided no General, nor no old Commanders.

3. They never thought of forming an Army until Sir was storming one of their Towns.

4. The *Kentish*-men were compelled to take in *Sandwich*, and the 3 Castles, lest they should fall upon the backs of them when the Army marched against them; yet did they hurt no man in person or goods : which argued a peaceable disposition, aiming only at defence: Thus you see a whole County always well affected to the Parliament, complaining of a few Independent seafary Committee-men, Sequestrators, &c. for infinite oppressions and cheats dayly committed : they being weighed in the scales together, the whole County are thought too light for want of an impartial holding the ballance even : one prudential consideration, that they must not discountenance their friends

(as

(as they call the Committee) and something else more substantial being put upon the Committees scale, hoyseth the whole County into the ayr. And when the Parliaments Army was at Blackheath, The County sending some of their Gentry with Petitionary Letters to the House of Commons, declaring the peaceableness of their inclinations, their continued obedience to the Houses, and a desire their grievances against their Committee might be put into a way of examination and redresse, they could obtain no other Answer (the schismatical ingaged party overpowering the Houle with the near approach of their own Army, for it is no bodies else) than, *that they would send them an answer by their General; which was as much as if they had said, They would send an answer by the Executioner:* the terror of this answer made the County desperately ingage in an un-premeditated War, for which they were wholly unprovided, as the irrefolute and distracted managing of it makes manifest. But this advantage was greedily laid hold of by the Saints, to ravish a victory from the Country, which they were resolved to use with so much secrecy and solemn cruelty, that the example thereof should strike an awfullnesse into the hearts of all that should hear of it, and beget a slavish fear in the whole kingdome to submit to the laying aside of the KING, and his Negative Voice, and the establishing of a tyrannical Oligarchy, in the Grandees of the two Houses and Army: for finding the whole Kingdome to hate them with a perfect hatred, they have no hope to govern by Love, but by Fear; which (according to the Turkis rule) is more predominant and constant passion. And certainly had not *Goring's* passing over at Greenwich into Essex compelled *Fairfax* to follow immediatly after with his Army, they had been used with much extremity: insomuch that *Weaver*, (a member, fuller of zeal than wisdom, though wise enough for his own profit, as most Saints and Knaves are) moved in the House, *That all Kent might be sequestred, because they had rebelled, and all Essex, because they would rebell.* And truly this is as good a way as *Cromwel's* selling his Welch Prisoners for 12 d. a head to be transported into barbarous Plantations, whereby to expell the Canaanites, and make new plantations in old England for the Godly, the seed of the Faithfull: for this faction (like the Divill) cry, *all is mine*

91 27. May. A friend of my Lords Say² moved in the House of Commons, That Bimbury-Castle might be demolished to prevent a Surprise thereof by Malignants, laying, it had already cost the State 20000l. to reduce it, and had undone the Country, which was unable to pay for it; it belonged to a Noble, Godly person, the L. Say, and it was not fit to demolish it without his consent and recompence; it was therefore desired the State should bear the charge, his Lordship being willing to sell it for 2000l. To which was answered, That other well-affled Gentlemen had their Houses destroyed for service of the State, without recompence, not so well provided to bear the los^s as my Lora Say; as Mr. Charles Doyle, two handsome habitable Housses, Mr. Vachell, some Housses in Reading, and others well deserving of the State, though not of themselves. This Castle was uninhabitable, a rude heap of stones, a publick nuisance to the Country. It cost his Lordship but 500l. and now to obtrude it upon the State at 2000l. price, in so great a scarcity and want of mony, the Kingdom groaning under Taxes, was not reasonable. So Divine providence not saying Amen to it, this Cheat failed like the untimely birth of a Woman.

92 About the beginning of June, a debate hapned in the House of Commons about the four imprisoned Aldermen, occasioned by a Petition from the City, and concerning the impeached Lords and Members and Commons. Mr. Goven spake modestly in their behalf, saying, That what they did was done by virtue of an Ordinance of Parliament made this very Sessions of Parliament, and without any intent to rouse a new war, but only to defend the City against the menaces of the Army marching up against them and the Parliament. But Mr. Gourdon (a man hot enough for his zeal to set a Kingdom on fire) Answered, He thought they intended a new War, and were encouraged thereto by the Gentlemen in that speake last; when he said to them at their Common Council, Up and be doing: Mr. Walker (perceiving Mr. Goven to be causly reflected upon) replied, that since this debate upon the City Petition tended towards a closing up of all differences, it was unfit, men that speake their consciences freely and modestly, should be upbraided with Reptitions tending to dis-union, and desired men might not be permitted to vent their malice under colour of shewing their zeal: when presently Tho. Scot, the Brewets Clerk (he that hath a Tally of every mans faults but his own

own hanging at his Girdle by virtue of his Office, being Deputy-Inquisitor, or Hangman to Miles Corbet in the clandestine Committee of examinations) repented upon Mr. Walker, That the Gentleman that spake last was not so well-affectioned, but that the close Committee of examinations would find cause to take an order with him shortly: Mr. Walker offered to answer him, and demanded the Justice of the House, but could not be heard: those that spake in behalf of the Aldermen, were often offended, and threatened with the displeasure of the Army, which they alleged, would be apt to fall into distempers if we discharged them. Notwithstanding these menaces, it was Voted, that the House would not prosecute their Impeachments against the said four Aldermen, Sir John Maynard, and the seven Lords; and that they would proceed no farther upon their Order for impeaching Mr. Hollis, Sir William Waller, &c. Two or three dayes after, a motion was set on foot, That the Order whereby the said Members were disabled from being of the House might be revoked; many zealots argued fiercely, and threatened against it; amongst many arguments for them, a President was insisted upon, That Master Henry Martin was by Order disabled from being a Member, yet was afterwards readmitted upon his old Election: and desired these Gentlemen might find equall justice. The House having freed them à Culpa, could not in equity but free them à poena, and put them in the remainder of all that belonged to them. But Sir Peter Wentworth answered, That Mr. Martin's case and theirs differed: Mr. Martin was expelled for words spoken against the King, such as every man's Conscience told him were true; but because he spoke those words unseasonably, when the King was in good strength, and the words (whether true or false) were in strictness of Law, Treason: the House (especially the lukewarm men) considering the doubtful event of War, disabled and committed him, lest the whole House might be drawn in compass of High Treason for conniving at them: which was a prudential Act contrary to Justice, and contrary to the sense of the Godly and honest party of the House. But afterwards (the King growing weaker, and the Parliament stronger) the House restored Master Martin, and thought fit to set every man's tongue at liberty to speak truth even against the King himself; and now every day words of a higher nature are spoken against him, by the well-affected

The History of Independency.

affected Godly in the House. After many threats used by Wentworth, Ven, Harvey, Scot, Gourdon, Weaver, &c. The said disabiling Order was repealed.

93
Members ad-
ded to the
Committee of
Safety at Der-
by house.

About the same time the Lords sent a Message to the Commons, that they had named six Lords to be added to the Committee of Safety, and desired the House to add twelve Commons to them. (This had five or six times been brought down from the Lords before, and received so many denials, but the Lords would not acquiesce) The Message came down about one of the Clock, the House being thin, many argued against it, saying, that there were seven Lords and fourteen Commons of that Committee already, enough (if not too many) to dispatch businesse with secrecy and expedition; that to add six Lords more to them was (in effect) to make the whole House of Peers of that Committee; so the whole House of Peers, and twenty six of the ablest and best spoken Commons being ingaged in that Committee, that Committee would sway the Honors which way they pleased; draw, by degrees, all power and authority from the Parliament to themselves; cause the House to adjourn at pleasure, leave them so exalted, and enervated, that they should no longer keep the dignity nor Authority of a Parliament; contrary to the trust reposed in them by those that chose them, and contrary to the tenor of the Writ of Election. It were more for the service of the Commonwealth to examine what the powers of that Committee are, and to set a short time to its continuance, and not leave it indefinite as now it is. After more than an hours debate, the Speaker (instead of putting the question, whether an addition or not) called to have the names read, first of the Lords, who were voted, one, by one; and then the Commons are named, who are almost all Independents; Weaver excepted against the naming of Major Gen. Brown to be of that Committee, for being disaffected to the Army; to which Major Gen. Brown gave a discreet and an honest Answer; in reply to which, Weaver concluded, That the Parliament in the posture it was in, was not likely to save the Kingdom, but the Committee of Safety and the Army must save it: whereupon satisfaction was demanded against Weaver for dishonouring the Parliament, and alleged that the Honour of the Parliament was more considerable than the Honour

nour of the Army , and ought to be vindicated before the Honour of the Army , whatsoever their Agents and Servants in the House (who gained by them) thought to the contrary , unless they would acknowledg the Parliament to be subordinate to the Army . It was farther said , that if the Parliament should relinquish the work of settling Peace , Religion , Laws , and Liberties in the King - dome to the Committee of Safety , (as the Gentleman that spake last seems to intimate , that in order thereto , the said Committee is enlarged) the Parliament should forsake their trust , and be no longer a Parliament , and all they had done , and should doe in that way , (even the erecting , empowring , and enlarging of that Committee) is void in law . Note ; that several Orders have been made , appointing set days to examine the powers of this Committee , and limit a time for its determination ; but always upon the appointed days , either some Letters of news , or some new invented Plots have been cast like stumbling blocks in the way to put it off .

The like for settling the general Militia of the Counties ; all which are now left *fine die* .

Thursday , 15 June , Mr. Solicitor reported to the House , That Sir William Massham and the rest of the Committee , were car - zo Royalists ried up and down in the head of Goring 's Army , hardly used , and sent to the General in lieu of 10 Committee men in and sent to the General to be used in the like manner . But Gouy - Colchester .
don moved , That the Lady Capell and her Children , and the Lady Norwich might be sent to the General with the same directions , saying , their Husbands would be carefull of their safety : and when divers opposed so barbarous a motion , and alleged , the Lady Capell was great with child near her time , Gourdon pressed it the more eagerly , (as if he had taken the General for a Midwife) he was seconded by Ven , Sir Hen. Mildmay , Tho. Scot , Blackstone , Hill of Haberdashers-hall , Parezoy , Miles Corbet , &c . Note that Rushworth (Secretary to the General) reported at the Commons Bar , The Committee were well used and wanted nothing . And though they have had many Fights and Sallies , they did never put any of the Committee in the Front ; so that it should seem this is only a fabulous pretence to carry 20 of the Kings party

party in Front before them to facilitate and secure their Approaches against the Enemies shot , which is the more credible, because the sense of the House was, *not to exchange these for the Committee.* This is to cheat the Enemy of a Town , not to conquer it. Behold the Saints way of getting Victories; and *Cromwell* practiseth the same in *Wales*, as I hear.

And that it may farther appear , this Saint-like Army neither Conquers by Miracle, nor the Sword , but by the battery of Angels, I can assure you, that lately one of the setting-bitches of these States (as they now call themselves in their forein negotiations) the *bogen mogens* of *Derby-house*, the Lady *Norton* (Wife to bul-headed Sir *Grig.*) offered a large sum of money to a Gentlewoman to procure her Husband to yield up a Hold he keeps for the KING , using this argument to perswade it , *That most of the good Towns they seemed to Conquer , were purchased of men that had Wit enough to offend themselves,* (for you must know that this virtuous Lady trucks as well for strong Townes and Forts , as for Plackets and other weaker pieces) but the motion was contemned; And the General having gotten together the Trained men of *Suffolk* and *Essex* to assist him , putteth them in the Forlorne Hope in all his stormings of the Town of *Colchester*, and drives them on with his Horse , using them as the Turk useth his *Asapi* to dead the first fury and edge of the Enemy , that his Ianiliaries may at last come on with the more safety , and carry the businesse.

⁹⁵
The National
Covenant.

Saturday, 17 Inne. It was moved that no Commissions might be granted to any Commanders or Officers , until they had taken the National Covenant : against which, it was argued , That the Covenant was become the pretence of all Rebellions and Insurrections ; that most of them that had Rebelled in *Wales* , *Kent* , *Essex* , had taken it; but those that refused it were true friends to the Parliament , and had done them gallant service . That the Covenant had so many various interpretations put upon it , that no man knew what to make of it , or how with a safe Conscience to take it : thus argued the Independent , as if the Covenant were *malum in se* . To which was answered , that by this last reason , they might lay aside the Scriptures , which were frequently and variously mis-interpreted by Hereticks and Schismatics. If the

Covenant

Covenant in its own nature were the cause of Insurrections, it was unwise done of the Parliament to impose it upon men; and to tie them by Vow to defend it, and one another in defence of it, with their lives and fortunes, whatsoever number of Armed men should gather together in defence of the Kings Persons, Crown and Dignity, or of Religion, Laws, Liberties, or of Privileges of Parliament, according to the said Covenant they have the authority of Parliament, nay of Heaven (where their Vow is recorded) for what they do, and cannot be said to Rebells, or War against the Parliament, but against a Faction, who having deserted or never taken the Covenant, to carry on new designs for their own advantage: doe now mis-apply the title of *Malignant* and *Rebell*, to those that fight for the Covenant, because they will not change their principles with them for Company. And upon this ground only were the four Aldermen, seven Lords, Sir John Maynard, &c. impeached and imprisoned only for such actions as the Covenant (which they took by authority of Parliament) bound them in conscience unto, and for which they had a special Ordinance of Parliament, made this very Sessions, and not to raise a new War as was scandalously and violently enforced upon them: Had it come to a new War, it must have been laid at their dores that subvert the Principles in the Covenant. Many have taken the Covenant in obedience to you, and are bound up by it; and now to leave other men at large not to take it, and accuse them of *Treason* for endeavouring to keep it, is very unjust. You have lately promised the Scots, *you will adhere to the Covenant*: How can they believe this, unleſſe you injoyn all to take it? And so long as you put all the Arms, Garrisons, and Ships of the Kingdome, and all places of power, profit and preferment, into the hands of Schismaticks and Antimonarchs, whose principles and actions run counter to the Covenant, and such as talk much of your service, but have done only their own, in order to which, they refused to obey you and Disband, ravished the King from you at *Holdenby*, kept you in wardship ever ſince, and dishonoured and brought you low with treasonable, scandalous, threatening Engagements, Declarations, Remonstrances, and other Papers? But those that would have had the Covenant current, could not get the question put.

96

Osburn's information concerning a design to murder the King. See [The Indep-
pendedts loyal-
17] : Book 10
called.

Vpon Saturday, 17 June, 1648, about one of the clock after-noon (most of the House being gone to dinner, and very few Presbyterians left) the Speaker of the House of Commons stood up and told the House, that he had received Letters from Richard Osburn (he that projected to deliver the King out of the custody of Colonel Hammond at Carubrook-Castle) that he conceived the Letters tended only to the setting of us altogether by the Ears; and propounded, whether they should be read or no? some were against the reading of them, but the Major part called to have them read; which was done accordingly. The Letter to the said Speaker had a copy of another Letter enclosed in it, to the Lord Wharton, which bore date 1 June, 1648. to this purpose. Giving his Lordship to understand, That upon private conference with Captain ROLF (a man very intimate with Colonel Hammond, and high in the esteem of the Army) the said Capt. Rolf told him (the said Osburn) that to his knowledge Hammond had received several Letters from the Army, advising him to remove the KING out of the way by Poison, or any other means, for it would much conduce to their affairs. But (saith Rolf) Hammond hath a good allowance for keeping the KING, and is therefore unwilling to lose so beneficial an imployment. But (saith Rolf) if you will joyn with me, we will endeavour to convey away the KING to some secret place, and we may then do what we will with Him. Osburn offers in his said Letter, That if he may come and goe with safety, he would come and justify the same upon Oath. He likewise writ to the Speaker of the Lords House about it. Then was read Osburn's Letter to Mr. Lenthall Speaker, dated 10. June 1648: containing the same Narration, with an offer to appear, and make it good upon Oath if he might come and go with safety and freedom. The Clerk had no sooner done reading this Letter, but with a slight neglect, and the laughter of some Member, the businesse was passed over without debate, and Mr. Scawen stood up to propound a new businesse from the Army; when presently, Mr. Walker interrupting Scawen, desired to speak a word to the late businesse; and asked Mr. Speaker, from whence that Letter came, and who brought it? the Speaker called upon the Sergeant of the Mace, who Answered, The Letter was given him at the dore by a man that he knew not; that he had many Letters &

Papers

Papers thrust upon him of which he could give no account, but he would endeavour to find the Messenger. Then Mr. Walker urged that such an infirmation coming to the House ought not to be neglected whether true or false, but to be examined and sifted to the bottom. If the KING should die a natural death, or any mischance befall him, (the People calling to mind how little care we had taken of his safety) would never be satisfied with our protestation; and moved, that a Committee might be named to examine Osburn, Rolf, Hammond, and such others whose names should occur in the Examination. This was seconded by Sir Simond Delves, Mr. Henry Hungerford, Mr. Edward Stevens, and some others, who presided it farther, but received a slight Answer. That those that desired to examine the businesse knew not where to find Osburn. That Osburn was a Malignant, and had attempted to set the KING at liberty. To which Mr. Walker replied, That the other day we had named a Committee to examine the businesse concerning the Foot-boy that strook Sir Henry Mildmay, and yet we neither knew them where to find the Foot-boy, or what his name was. If we do but publish that Osburn shall with freedom and safety come and go, in case he appear to make good his Charge, either he will appear, or we shall declare him an Impostor, & punish him when we take him, and clear the reputation of those upon whom this Letter seems to reflect. Consider how vast a difference there is between beating a Subject, and Killing a King. And if Osburn (whom I know not) be a Malignant, yet unless you can prove him a Nullifidian, or a person convict of Perjury, both according to the Rules of Christian Charity, and in the charitable intendment of our Laws, his Oath is valid and good. Then Tho. Scot stood up and said, That this pressing for a Committee to examine this businesse, was but a device to draw Col. Hammond, and Rolf, up to Town to be examined, that the KING might the easier make an escape. And Sir John Evelyn of Wilts, alleged that he conceived this was an invention of Osburns to bring the King to Town with Honour, Freedom, & Safety. Then Walker stood up again, but was interrupted by Master Hill, and not suffered to speak, having already spoken twice. At the end of almost every motion made for a Committee to examine the businesse, either Mr. Scawen, or Major Genral Skippon stood up and offered to divert the businesse by new matter concerning

cerning the Army, which usually beareth all other busynesses down before it. At last those few that moved for an Examination of this Information, having spoken as often as the Orders of the House doe permit, were forced to be silent; so the busynesse was buried in silence. I hear that some of the Lords called upon this busynesse the Monday following, being the 16 of June, and that the Lord Wharton being asked, why he did not impart Osburn's said Letters to the House? Answered, That as soon as he opened the said Letter he received from Osburn, and saw his name at the bottom, he looked upon the busynesse as not considerable: yet he sent the Letter to Hammond. Vpon Tuesday, 20 June, The Lords sent a Message to the Commons; the first paper whereof concerned Osburns said Letters: they desired that forty days might be assigned for Osburn to come and goe with safety to make good his information. But Sir William Armine stood up, and desired, That the minutes of two Letters prepared to be sent into Holland and Zealand concerning our Revolted ships might be first dispatches, as being of present use. And when the busynesse was ended, Mr. Pierpoynt propounded another part of the said Message. So Osburn's Information was left sine die, for that time, but since, the Lords have quickned it, and 40 days are given to Osburn to come and go with Freedom and Safety to make good his information; who is come, and avoucheth it; and one Dowcett, speaketh much in affirmation of a Design of Rolfes to pistol the King. Rolf presents himself at the Commons Bar with a Letter from Hammond, which denies the Design, and pleads Rolfes cause for him. Rolf denied it at the Commons Bar with a trembling voice, yet afterwards hid out of the way; but being discovered upon search, he was found to have a Byle upon him, that disabled him from riding, otherwise (it is thought) he would have fled far enough. I do not hear that Hammond is yet sent for, or questioned. And for Osburn's indeavour to convey his Majestie from Carisbrooke-Castle, it was alleged, he did it with a charitable intent to preserve his life, and not of any disaffection to the Parliament, to which he hath been affectionately serviceable. Though many take offence at Master Walker, as if his stirring of this busynesse were only to cast an aspersion upon the Army: yet (I conceive) that what he did was commendable, In discharge of the duty he owes

owes to God, his King, and Country, and of his trust as a Member of the Representative body of this Kingdome , and in performance of the obligations which the Oath of Allegiance , the Parliaments Protestation , the National Covenant , and the known Laws of the Land lay upon him , which duty he was bound to perform , (though with the extremest hazard of his life and fortunes) and though he may happily hope better things of this Army , yet since neither the Laws of the Land , nor common reason warrants him to presume upon his own private hopes and judgement (things which often deceive the wisest men in matters of far lesse moment) he could do no lesse than free his conscience , by making the whole Houle Witnesses of the cleernesse of his actions and intentions . Considering,

1. The many high speeches and threats often used against the King in all places, none excepted.

2. The dangers the King escaped from this Army , which drove him from *Hampton-Court* to the *Isle of Wight*; and may possibly pursue him thither.

3. The Antimonarchical Principles wherewith many Members of this Army , and their Chaplins , and many elsewhere are season'd , who cannot govern this Kingdome at their pleasure by a military Olygarchy of Grandees of the Committee of Safety at *Derby-house* and the Army (and so establish the Kingdome of the Saints) nor yet bring it to their own *levell*, but by taking off *summa papaverum capita* , all that is high and eminent. There is a Crowned Head in their way which must be removed.

4. The corrupted fantasies of many Antimonarchical Schismatics with Revelations and Raptures , who serve the Devil for Gods sake ; making him the Author , and the doing of his will the pretence of all their crimes and villanies.

5. The many desperate guilty persons that fear peace ; and are resolv'd , now the Sword is out , to burn the Scabbard. These look upon the King with an evil eye , as the Centre in whom all Interests must unite before we can have Peace. Despair tempts these men to make one sin a degree , and step to a higher. These three last sort of men having cast off all fear of God , will as easily contemn Gods substitute , the King ; as he that cast off all reverence to the King will contemn his substitute , a Constable.

6. The

6. The continual endeavours of the Grandees of Derby house and the Army, to put all the Armes, Garrisons, Ships, and Strengths of the Kingdom into the hands of Antimonarchical, Schismatical Independents: in order to which, they are raising of new Forces, and erecting new Garrisons in most Counties. These men when they could not get a power from the House of Commons to raise what Forces they pleased, (for when it was moved, they there ordered, *that no more motions should be made for raising new Forces, but between the hours of ten and twelve*) yet what they could not get by their leave, they now take without their leave: the General granting Commissions for raising and listing Horse and Foot in almost all Counties; for example, Sir Hardresse Waller (that one eyed *Polyphemus* of Pastebord) lately sent forth Commissions in the County of Devon: (by virtue (as his Commissions say) of the power granted him from his Excellency) for raising, listing, and training Horse and Foot, which shall be no burden to the Country, but be in pay with the rest of the army. In these Commissions he stileth himself (*unruly*) Commander in chief of all the forces of the five Western Associate Counties: and gave authority and encouragement to the well-affected (that is, to Independents, Sectaries, Antimonarchs, and the more desperate, forlorn sort of people) to enter into, and subscribe Engagements, *to live and die with the Army* (an imitation of the Members Engagement) in defence of the Parliament, (that is, of the ingaged faction of Independents, Schismatics, and corrupt persons, whom only the Army looks upon as the Parliament) witnesse the Declaration of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and his Council of War, shewing the grounds of his advancing up to London. This usurpation was complained of in the House of Commons, Monday 19 June, and prohibited then by Order.

7. Peradventure the reason why this Letter was published so unseasonably in a thin House, in so slight and surreptitious a way (as aforesaid) was, in hope it would have been passed over in silence (as it had like to have been) and so the whole House should have been engag'd in the crime (if any such thing be intended) as guilty of connivance and negligence, though *not as Actors guilty of the fact*. The main scope of this party hath ever been, by Treatise of Accommodation, uniting all Interests, and other devices, to involve:

volve others in their crimes, to infect others with their diseases; that all standing in need of one and the same desperate way of cure, may joyntly have the same friends and foes, and the same lips and quarrels to defend.

8. Friday, 16 June 1648. I was told, the Committee of Derby-houſe had lately received a Letter from Col. Hammond, Governor of Carisbrook Castle, informing them, *That unless they supplied him with Money and Men, he could give no good account of the King, in case the Revolted ships should attempt his rescue:* and farther, *That he had matters of great importance to communicate to them, but durst not commit them to Paper; but if they would send for him up, or send a Confidant of theirs to him, he would impart them.* This may probably be the businſſe whereof Osborne gives information in his laid Letters; and it may be Mr. Walker had heard of this report in the Hall, as well as my ſelf, and might have the ſame conceit of it, that I have; if it be lawfull for me to take measure of another mans judgement by my own.

9. Lastly, who knows whether a powerfull desperate party, may have a design to take away the *King's life*, and then declare his two eldest Sons uncapable of Government; ſuppoſing they defered the Kingdom, and invited foreign States to invade it; & then Crown the Duke of Glouceſter, and ſo (abusing his tender years) utzr the protection of him, and under colour of that authority, establish (by degrees) their own usurpation, and the peoples slavery; having subdued their ſpirits by a long and cultormary bondage, under them; and having filled all places of power, profit, and preſeruent in the Kingdom with men of their own principles and Interests, their own creatures and Confidants? This Army (last April) in their Council (amongſt other things) debated, *The Depoſing of the KING,* (why not murdering as well, ſince few Kings are depoſed and not murdered?) *Dis-inheriting the PRINCE,* and *Crowning the DUKE of YORK:* which was then approved of by Cromwell and Ireton. Why may they not now dis-inherit both the elder Sons, and Crown the Duke of Glouceſter as well? See the excellent *Remonſtrance* of the Colchſter Knights and Gentlemen, 1648, which I have Printed herewith for your ſatisfaction. That ſome ſuch design might be to make away the *KING*, and dis-inherit the *PRINCE,*

may well be suspected ; because the 12 day of July, upon information , That the Prince had sent into England some Blank Commissions to Lift men: Weaver(an Implemet of the Army, and Son to an Ale house-keeper in Wilts.) moved the House of Commons to Vote the Prince a Traitor, &c. And(I hear)that Mr. Solicitor(contrary to his Oath and duty of his place)refuseth to be of Council against the said Rolf ; this Gentleman the Solicitor hath got above 300000. by keeping open shop to sell the cruell mercies of the new Great Seal to the Royalists.

97
Trinity house
Petition for
Personal
Treaty.

The 29 June. A Petition was delivered the House of Commons from the Masters of Trinity-house , Masters and Captains of Ships and Sea-men , for a Personal Treaty with the KING ; declaring the great decay of trade to the undoing of many thousand families, and that they would not fight against the revolted ships, their Brethren, who desired but the same things with them. Tho. Scot said, That the Surry-men first delivered a Petition for a Personal Treaty, which was seconded by the Kentish-men in Armes, and they by the City of London : that all this was a design to ruine the Godly party. That he had read of a Man, who being asked when he was young Why he did not marry ? Answered, It was too soon : and being asked the same question when he was old, Answered, it was too late. So he was of opinion there could be no time seasonable for a personal Treaty, or a Peace with so perfidious and implacable a Prince; but it would aways be too soon, or too late. He that draws his sword upon his King must throw his Scabbard into the fire. All peace with him will prove the spoil of the Godly. To which was Answered, That some men got well by fishing in troubled Waters; and accounted peace their spoil, because war was their gain : and they looked upon a Personal Treaty as a design against them (under the notion of the Godly, Honest, Confiding party) because a Personal Treaty was the high way to peace. But the generallity of the people (who were despoyle of their Estates by the War) resolved upon a Personal Treaty, without which there is no hope of Peace ; they would no longer be made fuel to that fire wherein these Salamanders live ; nor any longer feed those Horse-leeches, (the Army, their engaged party and Servants) with their blood and marrow. It now appears who desire a new War ; namely, those Zealots who supply their indigent fortunes by War. These men fear peace, doubting they shall

shall be forced to disgorge what they have swallowed in time of War : *Ven. Miles Corbet, Hill the petty Lawyer of Haberdashers hall, the two Asbes, Col. Harvey, and many other thriving Saints, opposed a Personal treaty ; so their Petition had no successe. I hear that (not many dayes after) the Committee of Derby ~~housc~~ (to take off his affront) employed Col. Rainsborough (the quondam Neptune of our Seas) to go up and down and solicit the Common sort of Mariners to subscribe, and present the House of Commons with a counter Petition, wherein they offered to live and die with the Parliament, &c. and that Rainsborough gave 12 d. a piece to as many as subscribe it. This Petition was delivered*

The 2 of July, and after that (upon occasion of the City Petition for a Personal Treaty in London) upon the 5 of July, the House of Commons again took into debate a Personal Treaty. They spent much time upon the place where ?

⁹⁸ The City Petitions for a personal Treaty.

1. Whether in the Isle of Wight ? which the Independents principally affected.

2. Holdenby ? which they next inclined unto.

3. Or any his Houses not nearer than 10 of London : at his own choice.

4. Or in the City of London ?

Which two last places the Presbyterians approved of, but chiefly London : for London, it was argued, *That the Common Council and Officers of the Scouldery would undertake for His Safety against all Tumults. In any other place He would be within the power of the Army ; who might probably take him away again (as they did at Holdenby) if they liked not the manner and matter of the Treaty. London was a place of most Honor, Safety, and Freedom ; and would best satisfy the KING, the Scots, the people : In all other places (especially the Isle of Wight) He would be still a prisoner to the Army ; and therefore all he should agree to, would be void by reason of Dures. Sergeant Wyld Answered, That Custodia did not always in Law signifie Imprisonment. Though He was under restraint of the Army. He was not in Prison ; making a wyld kind of (nonsense) difference between Restraint and Legal Imprisonment, (which all but himself laughed at.) The King can not plead Dures ; no man can imprison or hurt the King in his politick capacity as King, though in His natural capacity, as man, he is as*

passive as other men. To which was replied, That it had been frequently said in the House, the King was a prisoner. That there was no difference in Law, between a restraint and an imprisonment, whether legal, or illegal. A tortious restraint is called in Law, a false Imprisonment. That former Kings have avoided their own Acts by pleading Restraint (or Imprisonment) and Constraint, as R. 2. H. 3: That the King may as well plead Imprisonment, as the Parliament plead a Force, which they have lately done. That the Kings Restraint in Law is *Arbitia custodia*, God grant it be *salva custodia*; we have lately had Information to the contrary. The distinction between the Kings natural and politique capacity was Treason in the *Spencers*, and so declared by 2 Acts of Parliament in the time of *Edw. 2.* and *Edw. 3.* See *Calvins case* in my Lord *Cook*, they are unseparable by the Law. *Tho. Scot* argued, That the City was as obnoxious to the Kings anger as any part of the Kingdom; and if the Treaty should be in London, who shall secure us that the City will not make their Peace with the enraged King, by delivering up our Heads to Him for a sacrifice, as the men of Samaria did the heads of the 70 sons of Ahab? It was farther moved, That if the King came not to London, but to one of his houses about 10 miles from London, That He might be desired to give His Royal word to reside there until the Conclusion of the Treaty. Col. *Harvy* slighted this motion, vilifying the Kings Royal word, and saying, There was no trust in Princes; he alleged, the Kings promises had been frequently broken; as when he protested the safety and privileges of Parliament should be as pretious to Him, as the safety of His Wife and Children, and within three or four days after came with armed Guards to force the House, and other instances which have been too often remembered, and shall be here omitted.

At last they fell upon a report, that the Committee of Lords and Commons had Voted, They would not insist upon the 3 Votes preparatory to a Treaty viz. Presbytery, the Militia, & recalling all Declar Procla. &c. This was long argued to and fro. At last it was Voted, That the King be desired to assent to the said 3 preparatory Propositions, and sign them with His hand, to be passed as Acts of Parliament when the King shall come to Westminster.

⁹⁹
My Lord Say's
discourse about
a Personal
Treaty.

My Lord of Warwick had moved in the Lords House about this time for a Personal Treaty, and was seconded by the Earl of *Northumberland*

Northumberland; but my Lord Say opposed it, and prevailed against it : afterwards my Lord Say in his way home visited the Duke of Richmond, and amongst other discourse, told the Duke, *He was sorry to find so great an indisposition to peace, saying, he had moved for a Personal Treaty, but could not prevail ; this was done upon hopes the Duke would have writ so much to the Queen, or Prince.* But the Earl of Holland coming that day to see the Duke, and the Duke relating to the Earl what the Lord Say had told him, the Earl of Holland discovered the truth to him, and so spoyled the design : you see the Devil doth not always own the endeavours of his servants.

The said 5 July, the Speaker, as soon as he sat in his Chair, alarmed the house of Commons with the news of the Duke of ¹⁰⁰ Buckingham's, and the Earl of Holland's drawing into an hostile posture ; relating ^{the D. of Buck. taking Arms.} they were 2000. that they intended to take Lambeth-house, *that the Bullets would presently be about their ears if they did not rise ;* which put the zealots into such a rout, that they presently cried, *Adjourn, adjourn, until Monday ;* and had hardly so much patience as to hear any reasons to the contrary ; but this was but a counterfeit fear : the design hid under it was, to prevent the City from bringing in that day their Petition for a Personal Treaty, and to leave the whole power of the House, during the Adjournment, to the Committee of Derby house, to raise what Horse and Foot they pleased, under colour of suppressing this Insurrection.

For when they found they could not prevail to Adjourn, they moved for power to be given to Major Gen. ^{101.} Skippon to raise Horse, ^{skippon auth.} whether to possess the Avenues and passages from the City to the ^{to raise} Earl of Hollands Army, or to keep the City under the terror of a ¹⁰⁰⁰ Horse. Horse Guard, is doubtful.

And the same day Mr. Swynfin reported from the Committee of safety, *That they offered to the Consideration of that House, that it was fit the House should have a Horse Guard, & that every Member should under-write how many Horse he will pay for 10 days.*

This is refused by some Gentlemen upon these grounds :

1. It bears the aspect of an Imposition or Tax set upon the House by their Committee.

2. The Members have not suffered alike ; and therefore cannot

¹⁰² A Report from Derby house that the Members should underwrite for maintaining of Horse.

doe alike, some have lost much and got nothing, others have got much and lost nothing : and it is not equal that Losers should bear equal burthens with Getters, and contribute one of their Losses to maintain other men's Gains, and preserve them in their rich Offices, and Bishops Lands purchased for little or nothing. Gentlemen are made Beggers, and Beggers Gentlemen.

3. It is a dividing motion: tending to lay an imputation of Malignancy and dis-affection upon those that cannot, as well as those that will not, subscribe : and so gives a great advantage to the Gainers over the Losers, which the Losers have no reason to submit to.

4. A Personal Treaty being now in debate: this motion makes many Members forbear the House, who cannot grant, and dare not deny : It carries with it therefore something of design and terror, and so takes away the liberty of Parliament, which when so weighty a businesse is handling ought to be.

If this Horse Guard be raised how shall we assure our selves they shall be Disbanded after 10 days, being once under Command ? It is therefore a subtle, malicious, tyrannous act, for the Committee of Safety to put so tempting a motion upon the House, and give men cause to suspect that something of Design and Danger lies hid under it.

About this time a Letter without any name subscribed, was left at Major General Brown's house, in his absence: consisting ¹⁰³ of two parts:

* forged letter. 1. A Preamble, of great respect and love born to him by the Epistles for his fair carriage to the King, and good affection to peace, and reconciliation with the King.

2. An Admiration to look to himself, and moderate his Actions, the Army looking upon him as their only Enemy, and Opponent in the City, lest they should seize upon him and carry him away, or do him some other mischief. This is conceived to be an Independent mouse trap set up to catch a Presbyterian in; for if the Major General had not discovered the said Letter, and it had been found about him, or in his House; or if it had been testified that such a Letter was left at his house and concealed: here had been matter enough for an Impeachment against him.

¹⁰⁴ Corresponden. The Grandees of Derby house and the Army solicit the de-
taining of the PRINCE in France, and the delaying of his
journey

journey for England, lest he trouble the yet unsettled kingdom of the Saints. To negotiate which, they have an Agent lying Lieger with Cardinal Mazarini (the great French instrument of State) who is so well supplied with Money, and so open-handed, That it hath been heard from Mazarin's own mouth, *That all the money the Queen and Prince hath cost the Crown of France, hath come out of the Parliaments Purse with a good advantage.* It is likewise said, Mazarini hath an Agent here, to drive on the Interests of France in England.

The Grandees in reference to the pulling down of Monarchy, ¹⁰⁵ and the establishing their Olygarchy or Tyranny (contrary to Doleman's an- their Remonstrances, Declarations, the National Covenant, and timonarchical their late Vote, *That they would not alter the ancient form of Book printed. Government by King, Lords and Commons*) have caused the Book written by Parsons the Jesuit, 1524 (under the feigned Name of Doleman) and called [*A Conference about the succession of the Crown*] to be published, under the Title of [*Several Speeches de- livered at a Conference concerning the power of Parliaments, to pro- ceed against their Kings for mis-government.*] Parsons had made this Book a Dialogue, these Men have made it into Speeches. The Arguments and Presidents are merely the same; you see they can joyn Interests with France: Doctrine with the Jesuits, to carry on their design, and reduce us to the condition of French Peasants or Slaves, under the Kingdom of the Saints. ^{See the Con-} ^{Doleman's conclusions, 15,} Book was condemned by Act of Parliament, 35 Eliz. But what ^{16, 17.} care the Grandees for Acts of Parliament, having fooled the people into a belief, That both the Legislative and Judicative power is in the two Houses of Parliament without the King, and that an over-powering party or Junto in the two Houses (complying with an Army to keep the rest under force and awe) ^{is the Parlia- mente.}

The Parliament consisteth of 3 Estates.

1. The King, whom the Law calleth, *Principissm, Caput & finis* The Legisla- ¹⁰⁵ Parliament: and therefore he only can *Call*, He only can *Dis- tive, Iudicative* solve a Parliament, and is Himself called and chosen by none, power, and the being *primus motor*, that animates all. ^{Militia, where they reside.}

2. The Lords: who have their creation and vocation only from the Kings bounty. ^{See the Con- clusions, 15,}

3. The ^{16, 17,}

3. The *Commons*, who have their *summons* onely from the Kings Writ, though their *election* from the people; and in that respect only (the people being too diffused a Body to be Assembled) they have something of *Representation* in them, being the Epitome of the People. These 3 Estates concurring, have power to make new Laws, to change or repeal old Laws, and in some doubtful cases rarely hapsning (which the Judges dare not venture upon) they have power to interpret the Laws. This is a wise and politick constitution, for if any one, or any two of the said three Estates should make new Laws, Change, Repeal or Interpret old Laws, arbitrarily and at pleasure, without mutual agreement of all the three Estates, it were in the power of that one or two to enslave the other Estate or Estates so omitted. Besides, the Law doth not favour the making of new Laws, nor the changing and repealing of old Laws, being an innovation that stirs too many humors in a body politique, & indangers its health, and brings contempt upon the Laws: *Leges priusquam late sunt perpendende, quando late, sunt obedienda*, saith Arist. Pol. But though all 3 Estates must assent to the making, altering, or repealing a Law, yet any one of the 3 Estates hath a Negative Voice, & may dissent from such making,

^{2 H. 5. 4 H. 7.} altering, or repealing, to avoid innovation, as abovesaid. How
^{c. 18. 12 H. 7.} then can the two Houses of Parliament exercise the Legislative
^{c. 20. 1 Ja. c. 1.} power, and make, change or repeal any Law by Ordinance, without
^{2 Ch. c. 1.} the King, (the first Estate and head of the Parliament) and so deprive Him of His Negative Voice, and the people of their Laws, Liberties, and Estates, contrary to ^{9 H. 3.} *Magna Charta*, ^{1 part. Insti. sect. 234. in fine.} ^{7 H. 7. 14.} especially when this very Parliament declares in the *Exact Col. 1 part. p. 727.* That the King hath a Negative Voice, and that Bills are not Laws (or Acts of Parliament) without the Kings assent (consequently nor Ordinances.) And as the two Houses take upon them the Legislative power without the King, so in the case of the 4 Aldermen and Sir John Maynard, they usurped a Indicative Power in case of Treason tryable in the Kings Bench; yet it is most certain, that when the 3 Estates in Parliament have passed any Act, their power determines as to that Act, and then the Authority of the Judges begins, which is Judicative: whose Office is (upon cases brought before them) to determine whether that Act be binding or no; (for Acts

Acts of Parliament against common rights, Repugnant, or Impossible, are Void, Cook 8. f. 118. Dr. and Student, l. 1. c. 6.) and to expound the meaning and signification of the words of such Act. It therefore the 2 Houses usurp the Legislative and Iudicative power, or the Militia, otherwile than hath been by the fundamental constitution of this Monarchy, and the practice of all ages accustomed, the Grandees of the two Houses and Army seem to lay claim to them all by the Sword, for in the late Declaration against the Scots Papers, p. 64. they say, That they engaged in this war upon these principles, viz. To keep the Legislative power, and the exercise of the Militia, without and against the Kings consent, and p. 63. ibidem, the Members tell us, that in all matters concerning Church or State, we have no judge upon Earth but themselves. It follows then, the Grandees do it to subvert the antient Government, Laws, and Liberties of this Nation; and establish a Military Olygarchy, or the Kingdom of the Saints over us in themselves. In order to which design they have put all things out of order, and turned them upside down; nay, they have crucified the whole Kingdom with Saint Peters Crucifixion, the head downwards, and the Heels upwards.

When this King went into Scotland, He compared the Common-wealth to a Watch, which they had taken in pieces; and advised them to keep every piece and pin safe, and put all in their right places again; but now all the principal pieces are either broken, or lost. God grant them to number their hours better hereafter, and to cloze well with our Master Work-man; for though this Kingdom hath alwaies been Ruled by King, Lords, and Commons; yet by the KING, arbitrarie; and by the other Two, organic; the King as the Architect, the Lords and Commons as His Instruments; each in his proper sphere of Activity, without interfering: and till this again come in use, look for no peace.

The Independent Grandees of the Parliament and Army are much offended with the City, and their adherents, in Petitioning for a Personal Treaty with the King, and give out, That when they have done with Colchester, they will humble the City, and bring it to better obedience, for which purpose, they have already taken all the Block-houses, upon the River, East of the City, Windsor Castle West of the City, and are now fortifying Giddibury near

¹⁰⁷
The Armies
Aspe & up
in the City and
Personal
Treaty.

Rumford in Essex South from the City; the like they intend at Hampton Court; and to build a Fort upon the Isle of Dogs, to keep under the Sea-men: whereby, possessing the principall wayes, and Avenues to the City, they shall neither feed, nor Trade, but at the discretion of the Army. In the mean time the Cities desires of a Personal Treaty are delayed and made frustrate by a tedious Conference between a Committee of Parliament, and a Committee of Commer-council. And Counter-Petitions against a Personal Treaty are sent about by Alderman Gybs, Fowles, Eftwicke, Wollafton, Andrewes, Nye the Independent Priest, and others, (who hold rich Offices by favour of the Grandees) to be subscribed even by Apprentice Boyes; whereby it appears the Independents have no intent to make peace with the King, but to engage in a new War, thereby to continue their Army, and our Slavery.

The yearly Income they raise upon the people under colour of this War, (besides the Kings Revenue, Sequestrations, and Compositions) amounts to three Millions sterling *per annum*, being six times as much as ever the most greedy and burdensome of our Kings raised: where our Stewards hide these our Talents (publick Debts and Arrears being unpaid) were worth finding out, if any but the Devil could give an Account thereof. But this is an unfindable Gulf, here my plumb-line faileth me.

108
Major Gen.
Skippon's
complaint.

The 10 of July, Major General Skippon complained in the House of Commons of a printed Paper, called, [*A Motive to all loyal Subjects, to endeavour the preservation of his Majesties Person*] wherein (he pretended) he was falsly and scandalously flandred for speaking some words in the House to divert the Examination of Mr. Osborn's Charge against Rolf. The House (that is, the Independents) were as diligent to become his Compurgators, and vindicate his credit, by passing and Printing 5 Votes for him, as they had formerly been to ruine the KING'S Honour by passing a Declaration against Him. This fellow Skippon was heretofore Waggoner in the Low-Countries to Sir Francis Vere, after that came over into England a poor forlorn Commander, and obtained of the King His Letters of Commendation to keep a kinde of Fencing School in the City Military yard, and teach the Citizeans the postures of the Pike and Musket, and Train them; where he wore the mask of Religion so handsomly, that he soon insinuated

insinuated into their favours, and found them very bountifull Pa-
trons to him, there he got his fat belly, and full purse; from the
City he became Major Generall to the new-modelled Army :
and observing some discontents arising between the City and
Army, and being willing to keep two strings to his bow, that he
might uphold his credit with the City, he voluntarily submitted
himself to some affronts purposely and politickly put upon him
in the Army ; and yet that the Army might understand him to be
their creature, he marched with the Army in their Triumph
through the City, still carrying himself as a moderate reconciling
man, and sweetning the insolencies of the Army, by making milde
and fair interpretations of their actions ; yet still so much mag-
nified the power of the Army, as if he would perswade the City
they were beholding to the Army for making no worse use of
their strength against them : Thus (as many other moderate, pru-
dential men doe) he lay a good while undescryed in the bosome
of the City, and there as a Spie and Intelligencer kept Centry for
the Army, untill such time as the City petitioning the Commons
for *restoring of their own Militia to them again*, the Council of the
Army, (to mock them with an uneffectual *Militia*) by their en-
gaged party in the House, and the Committee of Derby-house
(of which Cabal Skippon is one) caused their confiding man *Skip-
pon*, not only to be named of the Committee of the *Militia* (al-
though no Citizen) but to be obtruded upon the City as their
Major General, Commander in Chief of all their Forces, without
whom nothing is to be acted. This being resented and opposed,
as contrary to the Cities Charter and Liberties, *Skippon* found
he was discovered, and then (taking advantage of the Earle of
Holland's going forth into Arms) upon a Report from the Com-
mittee of Derby-house, the Commons ordered, *That a Party of
Horse should be raised and listed under Skippon*: *Skippon* by vertue
of this Order granted Commissions to divers schismatical Ap-
prentices to raise men underhand, and authorized the said Com-
missioned Apprentices to grant Sub-commissions again to other
Apprentices under them for the like purpose: This was preten-
ded to prevent Tumults and Insurrections, but indeed it was to
joyne with the Independent party of the City, and the army,
(when they have done their work at Colchester) in purging the
Presbyterians out of the Common-Council and Parliament ; in

reference whereto, the Army have resolved not to march Northwards against the *Scots*, untill they have brought this City to more absolute obedience, or laid it in the dust, according to Cromwell's advice; as a preparative to which design, the prevailing party in the House, July 15. (hand over head) Voted,

All such Scots as are come into England in hostile manner, without consent of both Houses of Parliament of England, Enemies to the State; & all such English as do or shall adhere to, aid, or assist them, Traitors: and the next day following, Weaver openly in the House affirmed,

That the Scottish design of D. Hamilton, the Colchester design, and that of the Earl of Holland, were all begun and carried on in the City of London: to which Ven, the two Abbes, Harvey, Scott, Miles Corbet, Blackstone, Sir Peter Wentworth, and others gave applause: loe here a foundation laid for a new Charge against the City, when the Army are at leasure to make use of it. This Hypocrite Skippon when he had spoken any thing in the House prejudicial to the King or City, about a Week after (when the venom he hath spet hath wrought its effect, and is past remedy) usually complains in the House, That his words are carried forth of the House, and maliciously & falsely reported in the City to his disgrace and danger, and repeating in a more mild and qualified way some part of what he had formerly said, appealed to the House, Whether that were not the full truth of his words? when the House having forgotten his former words, no man can, and (for fear of the envy and malice of a powerfull Faction) no man will contradict him; this is his way of Apologizing and clearing himself. He hath got above 3000l. in his purse, besides 1000l. a year land of Inheritance given him by the Parliament. He hath secured his personal Estate beyond Sea, and his Wife and Children, and thereby withdrawn all pawns and pledges of his Fidelity both out of the power of the Parliament and City, and is here amongst us but in the nature of a Soldier of Fortune.

Note, that upon the said 15 day of July, when the debate was for Voting the Scots that were come in, Enemies, &c. The first question was put, *That all such Scots as are, or shall come into England, in hostile manner, without consent of both Houses of the Parliament of England, were Enemies, &c.* but upon farther debate, the words (*or shall*) were left out, upon this consideration, *That the Earl of Argyle might happily come into England with a Party, and fall upon*

upon Duke Hamilton in the rear to divert him.

July the 20. The Speaker told the Commons, that Major General Lambert had made stay of a Scottish Gentleman, one Mr. Haly-barton who passed through his quarters with Letters from D. Hamilton, to the two Houses, and the King; that he found about Mr. Haly-barton divers private Letters, for the carrying of which, he had no publick Authority, and therefore Lambert made bold to Seal those private Letters in a packet by themselves with his own Seal and Mr. Haly-bartons: That Lambert had sent up Mr. Haly-barton with one Lieut. Col. Osburn, a Godly Scottish Gent: and another Keeper, in nature of a Prisoner. This Osburn delivered that private packet to the Speaker; so a Committee was named to pr- rule that private packet, and Osburn was called in to speak what he knew; who delivered at the Bar, That the Godly party in Scotland were oppressed and trodden under foot by Duke Hamilton's party, that their very Souls were afflicted at his proceedings, that the Kirk of Scotland with one mouth proclaimed in their faces their engagement and proceedings therupon to be damnable and destructive: he desired the House not to look upon these proceedings as the Act of the Nation of Scotland, since there were a great many Godly men who hoped the Lord would enable them in his good time to march into England with the Marquess of Argyle and fall into the rear of Duke Hamilton with a diversion. He reported, the Scots that came in to be but 8000 Horse and Foot, and Langdale but 2000. Then was read the Letters of D. Hamilton, wherein He complaineth no answer had been given to the Parliament of Scotlands just desires of the 26 April last, That by authority of the Scottish Parliament he was necessitated to come into England according to the Covenant, & not without the invitation of divers well-affected English who had taken the Covenant. There was a Declaration inclosed in the Letters, which the prevailing party obstructed the reading of (yet the Lords having printed it, they have since read it in the House) and presently the question was put, That all such English as have invited the Scots under Duke Hamilton, to come in Hostile manner into England, shall be declared Traytors? and carried in the Affirmative. I formerly told you, that about 12 July, Weaver moved, That the Prince of Wales might be Voted a Traitor: what they could not then carry with a fore-wind, they now brought in again with a side-wind; for who doubts but the Prince invited in

D. Hamilton's Letter and Declaration brought to the Houle.

L. Col. Osburn a fugitive Scot.

the Scots to the relief of his Father and himself oppressed and imprisoned, contrary to the Solemn League and Covenant, by a rebellious Army, and a schismatical party of both Houses engaged with the said Army: *And that the Scots are come in according to the Covenant only?*

112
A motion in
the House of
Commons to
Bayl Rolf.

A little before this time *Tho. Scot, Sir P. Wentworth, Blackstone, C. Harvey Hill* the Lawyer, and others pressed the Houle with much earnestnesse to *Bayle Rolf*, committed Prisoner to the Gate-house upon the Complaint of Mr. Osburn for endeavouring to make away the KING: using many words in his commendation for his godlynesse and faithfullnesse, and complaining of his hard usage in Prison where he lay amongst Rogues. It was opposed by many, because High Treason is not baylable by the Law, neither is the House of Commons a Court of Iudicature; and therefore can neither Imprison, nor Bayle any but their own Members. At last Mr. Sam. Brown moved, *That a Committee might examine the busynesse for matter of Fact, and report to the House, and then the House (if they saw cause) might Bayle him; and bind over Master Osburn to prosecute him next term in the Kings-bench.* This motion took effect, and great care was taken for the present, that Rolf might have better entertainment in the Gate-house according to his quality; having been not long since a Shoo-maker, one of the Gentle-crafts.

113
The Speakers
Warrant to
search for the
Foot-boy that
beat Sir Hen.
Mildmay.

About this time, 2 Files of Musketiers, by warrant from the Speaker of the House of Commons, came in the dead time of the night to the Houses of Sir Paul Pynder, and Alderman Langham, pretending to search for the Foot-boy that beat Sir H. Mildmay. They forced open the dores of Sir Pauls house, and searched with great diligence; but could not doe the like at Alderman Langham's, who being guilty of having some Money in his House, durst not adventure to obey the Warrant and open his dores; nor had he reason to do it, his House (by the Law) being his Castle of Defence, the privilege thereof not to be violated but in case of Felony or Treason. Compare the diligent prosecutions in the behalf of Sir Harry Mildmay, with the slack and negligent proceedings in the behalf of the King, and you shall find a new practical Law (contrary to the old known established Law) *That a Treppasse against a Grandee (though but a Subject) is more than a Treason against a King.*

Fears,

Fears and Jealousies arising from several Informations (as that of *Crofty* and *Hyde*, called, *The Resolutions of the Army*) and diverse other Symptomes of danger, but especially *Skippons* lousies cause secret Liing of Schismatiques in the City amongst the congregations of Mr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Patience*, and others, with power given him to kill and lly; his listing Servants against their Masters, and setting up a Power against a Power, had provoked that dull beast *the City* to know their own strength, to look into their Charter and the Customes of the City, and to Counter-list in their own defence; for which purpose, they passed an Act of Common Council, dated 27 July 1648, which was soon complained of in the Houle of Commons by *Ven. Harvey*, *Pemberton*, and other ill Birds of that Corporation who usually defile their own nests, after many aggravations; that after they had fought with the King for the *Militia*, any power out of the Parliament should prelume to exercise it: a Committee was appointed to Treate with a Committee of the Common-Council, to bear what they could say for themselves, and by what authority they claimed the use of their own *Militia*. The Committees met, and amongst other things the said question was asked, *By what authority they listed men?* To which was Answered, *That they did it by the Law of Self-defence, warranted by the Law of God, of nature, and of the Land:* and by a farther Authority: to question which, would make little for the advantage of the Parliament: This mysterious Answer stopped the mouthes of the Parliament Committee. If London should plead their Charter and usages, other places might doe the like; so this businesse was shut up in silence. Note that many Servaries of *Westminster*, *Southwark*, and the *Hamlets* have been invited and countenanced to petition the House of Commons against uniting their *Militia's* with London, upon pretended evils, As that they desired to have equal number of Voices in the *Militia* with London: But since London beateth 7 parts of 9 in the charge, it is an unreasonable demand.

By Orders (as is thought) from *Derby-house*, Colonel *Jones* Governor of *Dublyn*, hath seized upon most of the Presbyterian Commanders thereabouts, and sent them Prisoners to *Westchester*, as Sir *Maurice Estace*, Sir *John Gyford*, Col. *Willoughby*, Colonel *Flower*, Major *Stephens*, Major *Capron*, &c. to make room for Independent Officers in his Army, that the *Saints* only may possess

115
The Governor of Dublyn seizes and sends over Pr. soners the Presbyterian Commanders.

the good things of the world; but chiefly, that his Army being Commanded by Antimonarchical Schismatics may the better sympathize and unite with the Antimonarchical Papists in *Owen Roe O'Neal's Army*, against the Lord *Inchiquin*, whereof the said Lord hath given some hint, as I have aforesaid. You see the predominant Principle is *Anti-monarchy*, which easily overways Religion on both sides.

¹¹⁶ Sir Miles *Levesey* having casuallly taken a little Frigot of the Princes, called the *Christopher* manned with one Captain *Green*, and 8 men, took divers Commissions in her, and a Letter of Mart, granted to the said Captain to make prize of Rebels and Enemies Goods, and a Paper of Instructions, prohibiting *Green* to use any Hostility untill the Prince had published his Declaration, and untill it were designed who were His Enemies; other writings were then taken, which were referred to a Committee of the House of Commons to peruse and report. Mr. *Lechmore* reported from the said Committee, That some of those writings were not fit to be published in the House, (hereby you see that the House is already divested of that Power and Authority which the People have Trusted only them with, and all is now usurped by confiding Sectary Committees) so Mr. *Lechmore* reported, That there was an Adjudication out of the Princes Admiralty held in the Isle of Jersey, whereby a ship belonging to one *Tucknell* was adjudged against him, upon this ground given in the Adjudication, That *Tucknell* had taken that damnable Oath, called [The National Covenant.] I appeal to any man that doth not hastily beleeve all he hears, whether it be probable the Prince (in such a con juncture of time, when the Parliament it self says, That the Prince invited the Scots to invade England, and had declared for them) would hazard the losing of the Scots, by inserting such a clause in the Adjudication? All is not Gold that glisters; these Letters may be St. Martins ware, counterfeit stuff.

¹¹⁷ About this time (it is reported by some that profess to know it) there was a design for *Skippon's* new listed men to seize upon Alderman *Langham*, Alderman *Bunce*, and some of the Lords and Members of the House of Commons in the night; whereof notice being given, some of the Members knowing that Treachery (like the Basilisk) dies if it be first seen, to shew that it was discovered, caused one of their Party in the House, to move, That *Skippon*

Skippon might be Ordered not to seize on, kill or slay any Member of either House.

An Order passed the House of Commons for the Earl of Warwick, to fight the Prince at Sea. It was sent up to the Lords, and passed that House too; whereby it became an Ordinance. Yet An Ordinance some of the Lords entered a protestation against it, as the Earls of Lincoln, Suffolk, Lord North. ¹¹⁸ for the Earl of Warwick to fight the Prince

² of August, The Zealots of the House of Commons fell again at Sea.

upon the businesse of Rolf, at an unseasonable hour of the day, ¹¹⁹ and in a thin House. They ordered a Conference with the Lords More endeavours of the Independents about him, and That the Lords be desired to joyn with the Commons in Bayling of him; and yet, for Treason, a man is not Baylable by in favour of Law. I cannot hear that Mr. Osburn's time of staying with Freedome and Safety to prosecute Rolf is renewed by the Commons, although it be expited; you see the Iron bound Saints of the Army are impregnable, even against High Treason; if this Penny Saint be so inviolable, what hope have Major Huntington, and John Lilbourne to be heard against Cromwell?

For if the man such freedom have,

What then most he that keeps the Knave?

Yet if Rolf had but binclad Sir Henry Mildmay (and that's no great matter) peradventure he had been prosecuted in earnest.

Thursday, 3 August, a Letter from the Earl of Warwick was ¹²⁰ read in the House of Commons, complaining of the Refractoriness A Letter from of the Sea-men, and that he could not govern them without a Commission for Martial Law; which was readily assented to; as any thing that cries up Arbitrary power, above the known Laws, usually is. But how this will agree with the discipline of the Sea, and how they will fight being so yoaked, I know not.

The same day a Letter passed the House of Commons, directed to the Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, setting forth what the Parliament had done in way of settling peace, reforming the Church and Universities, and maintaining the Covenant and union between the two Nations, and complaining of Duke Hamilton's Invading England under the Authority of the Parliament of Scotland, to the Kirk there. How dangerous this president may prove to both Kingdoms, to make a few ambitious, pædantical Church-men supreme Judges over Parliament and State affairs,

in ordine ad Deum: and how apt they are to lay hold upon such occasions, and kindle their zeal into a consuming flame, I leave to all wise men to judge.

112 A Declaration and a Letter¹ from the Prince to the City. The Commons Debate upon them Thursday, 3. August. The Sheriffs of London and some of the Common Council brought to the House the Copies of two Letters they had received from the PRINCE; one directed to the Common Council, expressing his Highnesse good affection to Peace, and to the whole City; and his endeavours to vindicate his Fathers Liberty and just Prerogative and Rights; to restore to the People their Laws, Liberties, and Property, so free them from that bondage under which they were now held like a Conquered Nation, to ease them of Excise and Taxes, to settle Religion according to his Fathers Agreement made with the Scots, and to reduce all things into their ancient & proper Chaneil. This Letter was accompanied with his Declaration to the same purpose. The other was to the Merchant Adventures, Informing them he had made stay of 3 of their Ships, but without any intent to make prize of them, desiring to borrow 20000l. of them to be repayed out of the Customes, and requiring their speedy answer. To which Col. Harvey (first aggravating many faults in the King's Government, according to the scandalous Declaration against him) said, *I be Prince was his Fathers own Son, as like him as could be.* That he had invited the Scots to come in, and declared for them; and had been formerly in Arms against the Parliament. That he was but a Subject; And moved the House to declare him a Reboll and a Traytor. Sir Peter Wentworth, Mr. Knightly, and Mr. Blackstone seconded him with much earnestnesse; so did Edward Ash, who farther moved, *That the Common Council and Merchants should give no answer to his Letters,* saying, there was no danger the Prince should make prize of their Ships, for that he had engaged to the States of the Low-Countries to do no act prejudicial to Trade. At last the Debate was put off until the next day, being Friday: when the Speaker putting the House in mind of it again, It was earnestly called upon by the younger Sir John Evelyn (Mr. Solicitors shadow) Scot, Weaver, Holland, Boys, and almost all the Godly Gang. So the Debate was resumed: and Weaver went very high to try the temper of the House. But the Debate in Terminis, *That the Prince should be declared a Reboll and a Traytor,* was soon laid by (though violently pressed) chiefly upon these reasons.

1. They

2. That they had not the Originals of the Prince's Letter and Declaration, (which the Common-Council still kept) but only Copies, not so much as attested upon Oath by any anther-tical Clerk; therefore no Legal proceedings could be upon them.

3. To Vote the Prince a Traitor the same day when they sent Messengers to invite the King his Father to a Treaty of Peace, would argue no peaceable inclination in them, and would be so un-derstood by the People.

3. They were engaged by the Nationall Covenant to defend the King's Person, Crown and Dignity; but the Prince, Heir apparent to His Crown, was (next under God) the chief sup-porter of his Crown and Dignity, therefore to Vote him a Traitor was to subvert his Crown and Dignity.

4. By the Stat. 25 Edw. 3. it is *High Treason to endeavour the destruction of the Prince, the Kings eldest Son;* but to declare him a Rebel and a Traitor, was to endeavour to destroy him; and therefore High Treason.

5. The people were already jealous that the KING and His Posterity should be laid by; and in them the Monarchical Government of this Nation subverted, and a new form of Govern-ment introduced; they had already by the Votes of *No Addresses to the KING,* and by their Declaration against Him (wherein they say, *They can no longer confide in Him*) laid by the KING. and now to Vote the PRINCE a Rebel and a Traitor, was to lay by both him, and his Brother the DUKE of YORK, who ad-heres to him, which would exceedingly confirm the people in their feares. But what they could not doe expressly, they did im-plicitly, by Voting *All that should adhere to, ayd, or assist the PRINCE, Rebels and Traitors:* Hereby they put a tie upon the City not to redeem their Ships, by lending 20000l. to the Prince; and yet had a Pirat taken them, it had been lawfull to redeem them. Ali that adhere to the Prince declared Traitors.

Saturday, 5 August. The House of Commons went upon the ²²³ The National Commissioners to judge of Scandals; there was a Clause in the Ordinance, forbidding the Nomination of such as refused the National Covenant; which was strongly opposed by the Independents, who argued, *That the National Covenant was but a League sworn mutually by the two Nations; that the Scots by Invading England had first broke it, and thereby set the English at Liberty from it,* ^{the} that

the Covenant was not Jure divino, no more than Presbytery was. To which was Answered, That the large Treaty contained the League betwixt the two Nations, so did not the Covenant, which was a Vow made unto God with our bands lifted up to heaven, for the maintenance and observation of the ends and principles expressed in the Covenant, from which no power on Earth can absolve. That though the Covenant was not Jure divino, yet the keeping of it after we have taken it is Jure divino, it being the revealed will of God, that We should not offer to him the sacrifice of fools; a Covenant to day, and break it to morrow.

¹²⁴
A new Militia
erected in every County, in
the hands of
Sectaries.

Monday, 7 August. A particular Ordinance to put the County of Wilts into a posture of defence was read, many that were named to be Deputy Lieutenants, or Commissioners, were mean petty fellowes, as one Read a Serving-man, and others, such as refuse to Act upon the Ordinances for settling Church Government, and declare that our Ministry is Antichristian, and are new dipped Brethren that have been re-baptized. These to have power to raise what men, and put arms into what hands they list; to fine 10 l. and twenty dayes Imprisonment for every default, and to levy 400 l. a week upon that poor County over and above the Taxes to Fairfax's Army, and Ireland, and Freequarters. The general Ordinance to trust the Counties with their own defence, is obstructed, to give way to these particular Ordinances, That all the Arms and Garrisons of the Kingdom may be put into the hands of Antimonarchical Sectaries, and the Militia of Godly Cut-throats established in every County towards the putting down of Monarchy, and the erecting of the many-headed Tyranny of the Saints of Derby-house and the Army. This Ordinance was committed.

¹²⁵
Letters uncharacterized, a
new invented
net to catch
Presbyterians
in.

Tuesday, 8 August. Thomas Scot made report to the House of Commons of the privat Letters brought out of Scotland by Master Haly-barton, (whereof I have formerly given you notice) this Gentleman being a publique Messenger from the Kingdome of Scotland, (and not from Duke Hamilton or his Army, whom only the House of Commons have declared Enemies, without the concurrence of the Lords) hath leave given him by the Lords to stay a Month in England; yet the Commons have since Voted he shall be gone in twenty four hours, or else he shall be sent home in Custody. These Letters are most of them written in Characters, yet this wel-gifted Brother Scott, hath found a New Light

Light to Decipher them by; and can tell by Inspiration, or by Privilege of Parliament, what Cypher or Character must signifie such a Letter of the Alphabet, or such a mans name. This engine added to the Schismatical High Commission or Committee of Clandestine Examinations, is better than any spring or trap to catch any active Presbyterian that lies crostle to the design of the Godly.

They may suppose any mans name to lie hid under such or such Characters and Cyphers, and so accuse him by virtue of this mysterious art, of syding or complying with the Scots or the Prince, and pin whatsoever the Faction pleaseth to call Treason upon his sleeve; these are the Arts of the Godly to make Innocency it self seem nocent, and remove out of the way such as hinder the erecting the Kingdom of the Saints.

These Letters so decyphered, were afterwards at a Conference reported to the Lords.

Wednesday, 9 August. The Answer to the City Petition (the day before delivered to the House of Commons) was reported to the House. It was an Answer to some of the Prayers of that Petition only, but gave no Answer to their desires, for the Disbanding of all Armies to ease the people of their Burdens. The restoring of the peoples Lawes and Liberties. The enjoyning all Members to attend the House; nor to the effectual obseruation of the self-denying Ordinance: this last is a *noli me tangere*; if all Members should be enjoyned to be self-denying men, there would be few Godly men left in the House; How should the Saints posseſſe the good things of this world? yet (after some debate, and divers expressions used by *Weaver* and *Harvey*, That it appeared by the Petition that the City would desert the Parliament) they gave an Answer to their desires concerning the union to be kept with *Scotland*, and a Cessation of all acts of Hostility during the Treaty of Peace; That they had Voted the Army under Duke *Hamilton* Enemies, and Declared, They would Act accordingly against them, to which they would adhere.

Master *Hungerford* argued, That because the Lords had denied to concur in the said Vote, he conceived the House could make no such Declaration, nor act therein without them. This put the debate to take Zealots into a flame, that any Member should argue against the Privileges of their House, so far as to deny them to be Almighty and Sov'reign without the Lords.

ty singly, and *per se*: Reynolds the Lawyer positively affirming, That the House of Commons (being the Representative of all the People) had power to Act without the Lords for Safety of the people, incase the Lords deserted their Trust: you see in this doctrine (as it hath been already, and is likely to be practised hereafter) a ground layed to subvert the foundation of all Parliaments for ever, and bring all degrees of men to a parity or levell. For the Parliament (by all the known Laws of the Land) consisting of 3 Estates,

1. King, 2. Lords, And 3. Commons.

Two of the Estates (viz. the Lords and Commons) have already laid by the King, and His Negative Voice; and now the Commons debate of laying by the Lords, and their Negative Voice, because (in their judgement) they desert their Trust. And so the Commons alone shall act as a Parliament without KING or Lords, untill falling into contempt and hatred of the people, (which will soon happen) the Grandees of Derby-house and the Army shall take advantage to lay the House of Commons by, and usurp the Kings Supreme Governing Power, the Parliaments Legislative Power, yea and the Judges Iudicative Power to themselves, and establish the many-headed Kingdom, Tyranny or Oligarchy of the Saints (so much contended for) in themselves. *O populum in servitatem paratum!* as Tyberius said of the Romans. This is the tail of the Viper, here lies his yonem.

Saturday, 12 August, A Message was sent to the Commons from the House of Lords in the behalf of Commissary General

¹²⁸ Copley, who had bought, and had a grant of the Wardship of the questred, and Heir of Sir William Hanby, for which he had paid Fine and Rent, the Sanctuary and was outed of it by a Sequestration laid upon Hanby's Estate after his death, he having been never question'd for Delinquency during his life-time; and this was maliciously done about the time when Master Copley was Imprisoned by the power of the Independent Faction, (whereof I have already said something)

Master Copley desired the Sequestration might be taken off, and he permitted to enjoy his Contract made with the Court of Wards; alleging, that to Sequester or condemn a man after his death, when he could not answer for himself, was against the Laws of the Land, even in the highest crimes of Felony and Treason: and produced a President, That the Committee of Lords and Commons

Commons for Sequestrations had taken off a Sequestration from the Lands of Andrew Wall, for no other reason but because Andrew Wall was Sequestred after his death. The case was diversly argued; it was alleged, that in cases of the highest Treason no man was condemned after death because he was not then in being to answer for himself, there could be no proceeding in Law against a non ens. In Felony if a man will stand mute, he forfeits not his lands, because there wants an Answer, and yet it was his own fault not to answer. The Parliament is bound by all their Declarations made both to the KING and People, and by the National Covenant which contains all the first and just Principles of the Parliament, to defend the Laws and Liberties of the Land, and not to subvert them. Take heed of giving so dangerous a President for Kings to act by hereafter against the People, and against this Parliament and their friends; since no man yet knows which way the tide may turn. But the Independent Faction (whose interest it is to keep themselves rich, and all men else poor) argued the case merely upon point of profit and convenience, and neglected the right and jus of the businesse. They alleged, That men of desperate resolutions would not regard the losse of their own lives, so as they might preserve their Wives and Children: That the State (as they pleased to stile it) would lose much by such an example, they could not therefore approve of the lenity of the Lords and Commons used in Walls case; many had been Sequestred after death, and so arguing a factum adiudicatum, alleged, that in case of Monopolies, satisfaction had been awarded out of dead mens Estates. But they forgot that out of Sequestrations no satisfaction is given to the parties wronged, the Committees and Sequestrators imbezelling the profits of them to increase their own gains, not bestowing them to repair injured mens losses, and so the equity upon which this President is founded, faileth in case of Sequestrations. Thus you see these greedy Canibal Saints (like the hungry dogs that ate Iesabel) will devour carrion, or any thing that will make them fat and full: yet they declared, They were willing this Sequestration should be bestowed upon Master Copley as a Gratuity, not as a Right for fear of the example. Observe, that if Master Copley had waived his Title by Composition, and accepted this Wardship as a Gift, they would presently have published it in their News-books, and Gilbert Mabbott should have proclaimed to all the world, that Presbyterians

Presbyterians and Independents might be thought alike guilty of impoverishing the Kingdom : for the Faction labours nothing more than to have Companions in their sins and shame: At last it was passed , That Mr. Copley should have the Wardship restored to him , but great care taken it should not be drawn into example hereafter , that a man may not be Sequestred for Delinquency after his death , *Cavete vobis mortui atq; sepulti;* dead mens Graves are not secure from these *Lycanthrops*, these *Long-irons*.

Monday, 14 August. Master Bulkeley in the name of himself and his fellow- Commissioner Sir J. Hippesly (sent to the King to acquaint him with the Vote of the two Houses, *That they desired a Treaty with the King upon the Propositions of Hampton-Court in what place of the Island of Wight He should think fit, and that the Treaty shall be with Honour, Freedom, and Safety to His Majesty*) Reported to the House of Commons all the circumstances and emergencies of their employment , (the Kings Letter of Answer being carried to the Lords by the Earl of Middlesex, and therefore not delivered to the Commons for the present) which with much candor were related as followeth, *That the KING had them welcom, saying, they came about a welcom busynesse (PEACE) which no man desired with more earnestnesse than Himself; and if there did not ensue a Peace, the fault should not lie at his dore; and that He feared no obstructions from any but those who gained by the War.* He farther said , that His Majesty desired (immediately after the delivery of the Votes) to speak a word with them in private , which they modestly excused for want of Commission. That about two days after his Majesty seeing the said Commissioners of the Parliament standing in the Presence Chamber , first beckoned the Earl of Middlesex to him , and had some short discourse singly with him , and then with Sir John Hippesly and Master Bulkeley one after another. These three Gentlemen afterwards comparing their notes , found the Kings discourse to every of them to be all to one effect, v.i.z. Expressing His desires of a good peace ; and importuning them to do all good Offices conduced thereto . He farther related , that when they took leave of His Majesty , He delivered His Answer in writing to them unsealed ; telling them , He doubted not their fidelity , though ill use had been made of His last Answer which he sent open , it having been debated in private , & a prejudice put upon it before it was

129
The Messengers
to the King,
Report their
Meassage in the
House of
Commons.

presented to the Houses. This free and impartial Report shewing how earnest his Majesty is for Peace, did the King so much Right, that the Antimonarchical Faction looked upon it as done to their wrong, and *Herbert Morley* presently spit out his Venom to this purpose, Mr. Speaker, *These Gentlemen have delivered all to you but what they should deliver, that is, the Kings Answer, which they have suffered first to be carried to the Lords; they might have delivered you at least a Copy thereof (it should seem Morley had forgot that the House proceeds not upon Copies) My motion is, that since these Gentlemen have exceeded their Commission by conferring privately with the King, the House may do well either to question them therefore, or give them an Act of Oblivion for their good service : This was cried upon a long time by the whole kennell of the Faction, and at last put off till the next day, when the Lords sending down the Kings Letter, the House should have the whole busynesse before them.*

The next day being Tuesday, 15 August, the Kings aforesaid Letter of Anwer with divers Votes thereupon were sent down from the Lords to the House of Commons, when presently the Beagles of the Faction spent their mouths freely against the said Commissioners again for lending the KING the civility of an eare in private, as aforesaid. After a long debate, at last this Objectiōn stopped the Mouths of Malice it self, *That if these Gentlemen had reported an aversnesse in the King to Peace (and aggravated His Words as other Messengers had formerly done, Whereof the King seem'd to complain) it would have proved a welcome discovery, and have been rewarded with Thanks instead of an Act of Oblivion. So with much adoe, Thanks were given to the said Gentlemen with approbation of their proceedings.*

130
The aforesaid
Messengers a-
gain.

The same day the *Militia of London* were called into the House of Commons, where Alderman *Gib* in the name of the Common-Council and *Militia* (not by Petition, but in a fit Speech) delivered the fears and jealousies of the City (even of the gravest, wisest, and best affected) occasioned by *Skippon's* underhand Lifting of Schismatics, Antimonarchists; his setting up thereby a power against a power, to the endangering of a civil War within the Bowels of the City; weakning of the Trained Bands, debushing Servants from their Masters, Children from their Parents. That under colour of *Skippon's* private Listings, other pri-

131
The Militia of
London : Con-
cerning private
Listing by
Skippon, and
the Militia of
the C. ty.

vate Listings were carried on by the Malignants, the Magistrates of the City not being able to question either, and distinguish one from the other. That fear was a violent passion, and was now grown so universal, that the Common Council knew not how to give satisfaction therein, the Citizens usually clamouring, that if the Houses did not give them leave to look to their safety, they must have recourse to the Law of Nature, and *All in their Militia without the Houses in order to Self-defence, allowable by all Laws, and practised by this very Parliament against the King, and by Fairfax's Army against this Parliament.*

The Prayers of his Speech were three.

1. That Skippon's Listed men might be under the Militia of the City.
2. That the expired Ordinance for Listing Forces might be revived.
3. That the Militias of Westminster, Southwark, and the Hamlets, might be united with the City as formerly.

To this clause of having recourse to the *Law of Nature for Self-defence*, great exceptions were taken in the debate of the House by the two *Ashes, Ven, Harvey, Scot, Weaver*, and other of the Godly pack. *That the Parliament having fought with the King for the Militia, and having got it by the Sword, any other Interest, upon any title whatsoever should dare to lay claim to any part of it.* You see these Lyons of the Tribe will allow no Beasts of different kind to share with them in their prey, although they did sweat and bleed with them in the hunting and catching of it. The Grandees may as well say *they have conquered our Laws and Liberties*; for (as I have in my *General Conclusion* cited) they say, *That they fought with the King for his Negative Voice, and Legislative Power, and that God hath by the Verdict of the Sword given judgement for them;* and yet when the King claimed them by a better and more legal Title than the Sword, they could object the equity of the Laws against the killing letter of them, which they say, directs still to the equitable sense of all Laws, as dispensing with the very letter thereof, as being supreme to it when safety and preservation is concerned, and alleging, *That all Authority is seated fundamentally in the Office, and but ministerially in the persons; and that it is no resisting of Magistracy to side with the just Principles of Nature.* See the Declaration and Papers of the

Army

Army, p. 39. 40. and the Exact Collect. p. 150. & alibi passim: In conclusion, after a tedious debate, the desires of the Citizens were referred to a Committee of the House to be wryed and into an Ordinance, That all Forces raised, and to be raised in the City of London, & the Liberties thereof, should be subject to the Militia of London (whereof Skippon is a Member) and under the Command of Major General Skippon. When this Ordinance will be perfected, what the sense and meaning of this Riddle is, and what dangers may befall the City if Colchester be taken, or the Scots beaten, before they have leave to put themselves into a posture of defence, God knows. It was farther referred to bring in an Ordinance for uniting the aforesaid *Militias*. You see how jealous they are of late of the *Militia*, since the Grandees entertained new Principles, and new designs. In the Propositions presented to the King at Newcastle, the Proposition for the *Militia* hath this proviso, Provided that the City of London shall have and enjoy all their Rights, Liberties, Franchises and Customs, and Usages, in raising and employing the Forces of that City for the defence thereof, in full and ample manner to all intents & purposes, as they have, or might have used or enjoyed the same at any time before the making of this Act or Proposition: to the end that City may be fully assured, it is not the intention of the Parl. to take from them any Privileges or Immunities in raising & disposing of their Forces, which they have, or might have used or enjoyed heretofore. This is a clear confession, that by the ancient Customs and Usages of the City, they have Right to their own *Militia*, or else this proviso were vain; howsoever the learned Counsel of the City fool them. The like proviso word for word is contained in the Proposition for the *Militia* of Hampton Court, saving that the last clause, That the City may be assured the Parliament hath no intention to take from them any Privileges, &c. is omitted, I think to please the Army and their engaged party. See the Letters, Papers, Transactions of the English Commissioners in Scotland with the Scots, &c. p. 58.

Wednesday 16 August. The Kings said Letter was read, and the Lords Votes thereupon: first, (after some little opposition) The Lords Votes upon the Commons concurred with the Lords in recalling the 4 Votes for making and receiving no Addresses to or from the King: thereby, 1. Abolishing Him from a kind of Parliamentary Excommunication.

132
the Kings Letter, debated in the House of Commons.

2. Restoring to all Free-born Subjects the Liberty they are born to, of presenting their humble desires to His Majesty, and performing the duties of their Allegiance and Oath.

And 3. Reducing themselves unto that scope and end, for which only the Writ summons them as a Parliament, viz. *To Treat with the King.* The second Vote, was, *To recall the Instructions of Parliament given to Hammond, how to carry himself in his Charge towards the King, His Servants, and all Reporters to Him, &c.* This was laid by, to be debated in the last place, after all the rest of the Lords Votes. The third Vote read, was, *That such men of all professions as the King should send for, as of necessary use to Him in the Treaty, may be admitted to wait on him, and that He might be in the same state of Freedom He was in when He was left at Hampton-Court.* This Vote (instead of concurring with the Lords) was divided. The first part (after many objections to it) was moulded into this following question, and carried in the affirmative, *That His Majesty might send for men of all professions, and He being desired first to send in a List of their Names to the Parl. and nominating no Person excepted out of Pardon, none that have been in Actual War against the Parliament, nor any man that is under restraint of the Parliament.* The latter part of this Vote, for enjoying such Freedom as He was in at Hampton Court, was divinely argued for the Ambiguosity of it; the question being, *Whether such freedom as the Parliament allowed Him, or such freedom as the Army (for their own ends) gave Him, de facto, were intended?* at last the question was agreed to be *in Terminis.* The fourth Vote, was, *That the Scots should be invited to the Treaty:* this likewise was doubtfully argued, 1. *Whether they should be invited by the Parliament? considering they had broken the large Treaty, National Covenant, and Union, by surprizing and Garrisoning Barwick and Carlisle, and by extirping England with an Army;* this was carried in the Negative. The 2. Debate, was, *Whether it should be left to be King to invite the Scots to send some persons authorized to Treat upon such Propositions as they should make for the Interest of Scotland only?* This likewise was opposed for the reasons aforesaid, and because the Power and Authority of Scotland was now in the hands of Duke Hamilton and a few disaffected persons, who were not likely to send any of the honest Godly party to Treat, whereby the Treaty would be carried on

to the disadvantage and ruine of the Godly and of the Church, our only friends there : And Mr. *Ahurst* related, That the major part of the past Parliament of Scotland over-powered the minor part by an Army, and so go, the Engagement and other Acts, and the Committee of Estates passed, against which the Assembly of the Kirk (consisting of 400 persons) declared with one Voice, I know not what he meant, by saying the major part in Scotland over-powered the minor, when I consider that major pars obtinet rationem totius, the major part is virtually the Parliament, to which the minor part must submit ; although here in England the lesser part of the Parliament engaging and conspiring with an Army (whom themselves in a full and free Parliament had formerly declared Enemies to the State) overpowered the greater part, contrary to reason and practice. This question seemed to agree with the sense of the Independents reasonably well, because it leaves it only to the pleasure of the King to Treat dis-junctively with the Scots upon the sole Interest of Scotland, as men no wayes concerned in the settlement of Peace in England ; whereby it is tacitely inferred, that the Treaties, Covenant, and Union between the two Kingdoms is dissolved, so the question aforesaid was put with this addition, That if the King shall be pleased to invite the Scots to send some Persons Authorized, &c. the Parliament will give them safe conduct. The fifth Vote of the Lords was, That Newport in the Island of Wight should be the place of Treaty : to which the Commons concurred. With their debates ended this Week the 19 day of August.

About this time came forth a Book entituled, [The necessity of the absolute power of all Kings ; and in particular, of the King of England] concerning which, I am to admonish the Reader, that it is conceived to be a Cockatrice hatched by the Antimonarchical Faction, to envenome the people against the KING and PRINCE.

133
A pestilent
Book, called,
[The necessity
of the absolute
power of Kings,
&c.]

The next Week begins with Monday 21 August, of whose proceedings I can give you only an imperfect scambling relation ; and so shall surcease all farther endeavours in this Kind, because I have already delivered enough for your Instruction, if God have not appointed you to be led blindfold into the pit digged for your destruction ; but principally because my good Genius, that furnisheth me with Intelligence, hath now recited

himself from acting without hope, to praying with faith, for his Country; being tired out with hearing and seeing so much sinne and folly as now reigns at Westminster : and I have not much to take news upon trust from the vulgar Paripareticks of the Hall. The chief things of note were, More Complaints of Henry Martyn, who now declares himself for a Community of Wealth, as well as of Women, and protests against King, Lords, Gentry, Lawyers, and Clergy, nay, against the Parliament it self, in whose bosome this Viper hath been fostered, and against all Magistrates ; like a second Wat Tyler, all Pen and Inkhorn-men must down. His Levelling Doctrine is contained in a Pamphlet, called, [England's Troubles Troubled] wherein, All Rich men whatsoever are declared Enemies to the Mean men of England, and (in eff. &) Warre denounced agairst them.

135
Skippon's Listings.

Next, the Ordinance for transferring over to the Militia of London Skippon's power of listing men in London, was passed in the House of Commons, with this Colloquy tida in it, That Skippon should name and appoint Commanders and Officers for the Forces listed, to be approved of by the Militia of London.

136
Cromwell's laureat Letters
20 Aug. 1648.

A Letter from Oliver Cromwell was read in the House of Commons, relating his easie victory over Duke Hamilton and Major Gen. Bayly, (which puts me in mind of Ovid's Victory over Corin-

va, of whom he saith,

Victa est, non egrè, prædicione sua.)

and conteining an admonition not to hate Gods people, Who are as the apple of his eye, and for Whom even Kings shall be reproved: and exhorting the Speaker (to whom it was written) to fulfill the end of his Magistracy, that all that will live peaceably and quietly (viz. in Vassalage to Oliver and his Faction, and neglect Religion, Laws, and Liberties) may have countenance from him. (God blesse all honest men from the light of Oliver's countenance, lest an ignis fatuus in lead them from the duties of their Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, Protestantation, and Covenant) and they that are implacable, may speedily be destroyed out of the Land.

137
Martial Law in London.

To prepare the way to whose destruction, it was Ordered, That an Ordinance be penned, and brought into the House of Commons, to try all such by Martial Law in the City of London as shall be found to plot, design, or convere any thing, to endanger the Parliament or City. And yet London is no Garrison now as it

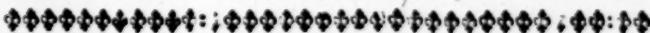
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was when Tomkins and Challoner were tried; nor is there any Enemy considerable in the Field, whereby the known Laws of the Land may not passe currently through the Kingdom: but our known Laws are not written in blood; nor are they so flexible as to make all Traytors, the Faction pleaseth to call such.

Yet as cruel as these Caco-fuegos of the Faction are to some, ¹³⁸ they have mercy enough for Rolf, whose Bayl was again exceedingly pressed: and that his two Prosecutors Oxburn and Dovces ^{Rolf's Bayl again pressed.} should be under restraint in his stead; whom they have forejudged (out of the King's Letter to the Houses) not to be able to prove their information, whereas it may be discretion in the King not to increase his danger by acknowledging it.

Saturday, 26 August. The King's Letter to the Committee of States in Scotland, &c. in Answer to their Letter sent to Him by Haly-barton (which Letter was taken from Haly-barton, ^{The KING'S Letter to the} although a publicke Minister of State, and allowed by Parliament ^{to be taken} to carry their Letter to the King) was read in the House of Commons.

I hear in general, ¹³⁹ that it was excellently well penned, and a very just, honest, and peaceable Letter. Yet it was Voted, neither to be sent to the Lords, nor to be restored to Haly-barton; but damned to close imprisonment in a Box, under Seal; lest the people should know how truly zealous his Majesty is to settle Peace in the Land: a mystery their understandings must not be trusted withall.



Preamble.

Promises, Protestations, and Covenants, made by this Parliament in behalf of the King and People.

After a repetition of many good Acts and Concessions obtained by this Parliament of the King for the ease of the People, ^{Remonstrance 15. December.} they say farther, that other things of main importance for the good of 1642. Exact. this Kingdom are in Proposition, &c. which yet before the end of October. p. 15. this Session they hope may receive some progreſſe and perfection; As the establishing and ordering the Kings Revenue, &c. The Regula-
ting

ting of Courts of Justice, and the abridging both the delays and Charges of Law Suits, &c. Preventing the exportation of Gold and Silver; and the inequality of Exchanges between this and other Kingdoms; improving the Herring fishing upon our Coasts, &c. which things in all their Propositions and Addresses to the King have not been once mentioned, nor any thing else but what makes for the profit, preferment, and power of a few ambitious Grandees of the Parliament, and Army; in order to which, they demand the Militia of a standing Army, with an arbitrary power to raise what Forces by Land and Sea, consisting of what persons, and to raise what sums of Money out of every mans Estate they please: which power the King hath not to give, neither did He nor His Ancestors ever exercise: the only *Militia* they used having been either the *Posse Comitatus* under the *Sheriffs*, which is very legal and ancient, or the *Militia of Trained Bands* under *Lord Lieutenants*, and their *Deputy Lieutenants*, which is a new invention. Nor did the policy of our Law ever trust the power of the Sword, and the Purse in one hand, for fear of enslaving the People.

Ex. Col. p. 19. They farther declare, That it is far from their purpose or desire to let loose the Golden reigns of Discipline and Government in the Church, to have private persons or particular Congregations to take up what form of Divine Service they please, because they hold it requisite that there should be throughout the whole Realm a Conformity to that Order which the Laws enjoin.

Ex. Col. p. 203. They farther say there, That the gracious favour His Majestie expressed in the Bill for continuance of this Parliament, and the advantage and security which they thereby have from being Dissolved, shall not encourage them to do any thing, which otherwise had not been fit to have been done.

Ex. Col. p. 21. They conclude the said Declaration thus, That they doubt not but it shall in the end appear to all the World, that their endeavours have been most hearty and sincere, for the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, The Kings just Prerogatives, The Laws and Liberties of the Land, and the Privileges of Parliament, in which endeavours (by the Grace of God) they would still persist, though they should perish in the Work.

Ex. Col. p. 375. In their Declaration, 4 June 1642. The Lords and Commons do declare, That the Design of their Propositions for Plate & Money is, To maintain the Protestant Religion, the King's Authority and Person

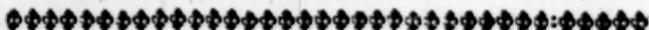
Person in his Royal Dignity, The free Course of Justice, The Laws of the Land, (what then becomes of Martial Law, and Committee Law?) The Peace of the Kingdom, and Privileges of Parliament.

In their Propositions for bringing in Money and Plate, 10 June 1642, the Lords and Commons declare, *That no mans affections shall be measured according to the proportion of his offer, so that he express his good will to the Service in any proportion whatsoever,* (that is, so that he ingage with them) yet notwithstanding the 29 Novemb. following, the same Lords and Commons appointed a Committee of 6 persons, who should have power to assess all such persons as were of ability, and had not Contributed, and such as had Contributed, yet not according to their ability, (which is now looked upon as a Malignancy) to pay such sums of Money, according to their Estates, as the Assessors, or any of them should think fit, so as the same exceeded not the 20 part of their Estates. The power is still exercised by all Country Committees, to a 5 and a 20 part, charged upon all men, even such as have been destroyed and undone, or laid forth themselves beyond their abilities, for their service to this Parliament.

In the *National Covenant* taken by this Parliament, and by them imposed upon the Kingdom to be taken with hands lifted up to the most High God, the Lords and Commons vow, *To maintain the King's Person, Crown and Dignity, in Defence of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, &c. To suppress all Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and Schismes; and to defend one another mutually in the same work with their lives and fortunes;* yet is the same Covenant now cast aside, and called, *An Almanack out of date.* Many men have been punished for attempting to keep it. And (I hear) the House of Commons are now upon passing an Ordinance for *Martial Law to be executed in London, upon all such persons as having taken the said Covenant, shall attempt or design any thing against the Parliament or City of London:* what is this but to impole a special penalty upon such as have taken the Covenant, and leave those that have not taken it free? And who doubts but that the said Council of War shall consist of Anti-monarchical Schismatics and Anti-covenanters, for the most part, who shall stretch every word to the utmost extreit. And this is now in brewing, contrary to the *Petition of Right, 3 Caroli, & Magna Charta,* no considerable enemy being in the Field, and the Courts of Justice in Westminster hall sitting:

say, I hear (like Janus Bifrons) this Law (if I do not miscall it) looks backwards to Acts past, as well as forward, contrary to the nature of all Laws, which have an admonishing power to warn men of the evil to come, before they can have a punishing power for evils passed: Therefore the Apostle saith, *Sin is a breach of a Commandement, (or Law) I had not known Sin but by the Law.* The Law therefore must be previous to the Sin. How the said Promises and Covenant, and many more have been kept, let the world judge.

What the Promises, Undertakings, and Proposals of the Army have been in order to settling the peace of the people of this Kingdom, and of the King's Just Rights and Prerogatives, and their own Disbanding, are to be found in their many printed Papers; which I will here omit, because they had no lawfull calling or warrant for such undertakings, and how they have been prosecuted and performed, is obvious to every capacity.



General Conclusion: *Out of these Premisses, I shall draw these Conclusions following.*

I. The Grandees have subverted the fundamental Government of the Kingdom, and why.

THe engaged Party have laid the Axe to the very root of Monarchy and Parliaments; they have cast all the Mysteries and secrets of Government, both by Kings and Parliaments, before the vulgar, (like Pearl before Swine) and have taught both the Souldiery and People to look so far into them, as to ravel back all Governments, to the first principles of nature: He that shakes Fundamentals, means to take down the Fabrick. Nor have they been careful to save the materials for Posterity. What these negative Statists will set up in the room of these ruined buildings, wot not appear, only I will say, *They have made the People thereby so curious & so arrogant, that they will never find humility enough to submit to a civil rule;* their aim therefore from the beginning was to rule them by the power of the Sword, a military Aristocracy or Oligarchy, as now they do. Amongst the ancient Romans, *Tentare Arcana Imperii*, to prophane the Mysteries of State, was Treason; because there can be no form of Government without its proper Mysteries, which are no longer Mysteries than while they are concealed. Ignorance, and Admiration arising from

from ignorance are the Parents of civil devotion and obedience, though not of Theological.

2. Nor have these *Grandeys* and their party in the Synod, dealt more kindly with the Church, than with the Common-wealth; whose reverend mysteries, their Pulpits and holy Sacraments, and all the functions of the Ministry are by their connivence profaned by the cloased shoe; the basest and lowest of the People making themselves Priests, and with a blind distempered zeal Preaching such Doctrine as their private spirits (spirits of illusion) dictate to them; But let them know, that their burning zeal without knowledge, is like Hell fire without light. Yet the greatest wonder of all is, That they suffer the Lords supper (that Sacrement of Corroboration) so to be so much neglected in almost all the Churches in the Kingdom: Is it because men usually before they receive our Saviour (that blessed guest) sweep the house clean, casting out of their hearts (those living Temples of the holy Ghost) Pride, Ambition, Covetousnesse, Envy, Hatred, Malice, and all other unclean Spirits to make fit room to entertain Jesus, that Prince of Peace, whereby the People having their minds prepared for Peace, Charity and Reconciliation, may happily spoil the trade of our *Grandeys*, who can no longer maintain their usurped dominion over them, than they can keep them dis-united with quarrels and feuds; and uphold those badges of factions, and tearms of distinctions and separation, *Cavaliers*, *Roundheads*, *Malignants*, *Well-affectioned*, *Presbyterians*, and *Independents*? or is it because they fear, if the Church were settled in peace and unity, it would be a mean to unite the Common-wealth, as a quiet cheerfull mind often cureth a distempered body? I will not take upon me to judge another mans Servant; but many suspect this is done out of design, not out of peevishnesse.

3. That these *Grandeys* govern by power, not by love, and the Laws of the Land, (which was my last assertion) appears by,

1. The many Garrisons they keep up, and numerous Army they keep in pay to over-power the whole Kingdom, more than at first the Parliament Voted, all in the hands of Sectaries.

2. Their compelling the Parliament to put the whole *Misericordia of England and Ireland* by Land and Sea, in the power of Sir Thomas Fairfax and their Party, together with all Garrisons.

They have
subverted the
Church.

The Sacra-
ment of the
Lords Supper
discontinued,
and why?

3
The *Grandeys*
rule by the ar-
bitrary power-
of the Sword,
not by the
Lawes.

3. Nor do they think the Laws of the Land extensive enough for their purposes ; therefore they piece them out with Arbitrary Ordinances , impeachments before the Lords , and Marshall Law , which is now grown to that hight , that the Council of War , General , and Judge Advocate of the Army do usually send forth Injunctions to stay Sutes , and release judgements at Law , or else to attend the Council of War wheresoever they sit , to shew cause to the contrary ; and when Lieutenant Colonel Lilburn was ordered to be brought to the Kings-Bench-Bar , upon his *habeas Corpus* , Easter Term , 1648 Cromwell sent word to the Lieutenant of the Tower not to bring him ; and Cromwell was obeyed , not the Judges . Thus the *Laws of the Land* are dayly baffled , that men may be accustomed to arbitrary Government , and thole actions which no *Law of the Land* calls a *Crime* , may be interpreted / reason when our Grandees please to have it so .

4. Their allowing money to some Committees to reward Informers , Spies and Intelligencers , to betray even their nearest friends and relations .

5. Their holding Honest , Generous , and Grave men in suspition , and making the Houses of Parliament and Army snares to them , expelling them with false and extrajudicial Accusations .

6. Their owning dishonest , base-minded men , that have cheated the State , as instruments fit to be confided in , and associate with them in time of danger .

7. Their impoverishing the people with confused Taxes , decay of Trade , and obstructing of their Mint , and thereby breaking their spirits .

8. Their changing and dividing the Militia of London purposely to weaken it .

9. Their not restoring to the Counties their Militia , and trusting them to defend their own houses as formerly .

10. Their nourishing Factions in the Common-wealth , Schisms in the Church .

11. Expelling learned Divines to let in ignorant men . All these are tyrannical policies grounded upon the old principle , That a Tyrant should deprive his Subjects of all things that may nourish courage , strength , knowledge , mutual confidence and charity amongst them ; which Maxim the best Politicians say contains the whole Systeme or method of Tyrannical Government .

4. As this encroaching Faction have usurped all the Military and Civil power of both Kingdoms; so they have monopolized all the great Offices, rich Imployments, and Treasure of the Land; the Taxes, are clearly the predominant party in all Money Committees; they Spoile, and give daily to one another for pretended Services, Arrears, and pretermits of Losses, great sums of money; many of their Largesses have already let down. They gave lately to Col. Hammond Governor of the Isle of Wight, for his Table aol. a Week, 1000l. in money, and 500l. a year land; to Major General Skippon 1000l. per annum land of Inheritance; to Colonel Milton 5000l. in money; Prieux hath 100 l. a Week benefit by the Post-Masters place; his whole Estate (before this Parliament) was hardly worth 1000 l. nor is he eminent for any thing but impudence and arrogance. Mr. Rowse hath Eaton College, worth 800 l. per annum, and a Lease of that College worth 600l. per annum, Sir William Alanson the Hamper-Office, and Crab Castle worth 600l. per annum, bravely wooded: Alder. Hoyt of Yorke, the Treasurers Remembrancers Office: Mr. Sallaway a poor Grocer, the Kings Remembrancers Office; neither of which, are able to read any one Record in those Offices, Tho. Scot, Lambeth-house: Sir Wil. Brereton, Croydon-house. Col. Harvey, Fulham and Norwich-houses. Mr. Lisle the Mastership of St. Crosses: Dennis Bonds 3 Sons, each of them a Place worth 500l. a year, besides many others. All the cheating, covetous, ambitious persons of the Land, are united together under the name and title of *The Godly, the Saints, &c;* and share the fat of the Land between them, few of them pay any Taxes, but all the Land pays Tribute to them.

It is thought this Faction, their under-Agents and Factors have cost this Commonwealth above 20 millions never laid forth in any publick service; now, the Treasurers and Publicans of this Faction have clipped and wasted most of the Money that comes into their fingers before they pay it forth, knowing that any money that comes out of their fingers will be accepted: two Gold-smiths are thought to be dealers this way, yet they lay the blame on the Scotch Army, as the Cuckow lays her brood in other Nests.

5. Having thus impeded their wings for flight, they have provided themselves of places of retreat in case they cannot make good of places of their standing in England: Ireland is kept unprovided for, that retreat to see they may find room in it when necessity drives them thither. If ^{to} _{The Independ-} their

their hopes fail in *Ireland*, they have *New-England*, *Bermudas*, *Barbadus*, the *Cariby* Isles; the Isle of *Providence*, *Eleutheria*, *Lyconia*, and other places to retreat to, and lay up the spoils of *England* in: nay they usually send *chefts* and *vessels* with *money*, *plate* and *goods* beyond *Sea*, with *passes* from the two *Speakers* to let them pass without searching: the *Navy* is in their power to accommodate their flight, and by their instruments called *Spirits*, they have taken up many Children and sent them before to be *Slaves* and *drudges* to the *Godly* in their schismatical *Plantations*, as the *Turk* takes up *Tribute Children* from the *Christians* to furnish his *nursery* of *Janissaries*; and so they have their *Agents* that buy up all the *Gold* they can get, *Cromwell* not long since offered 11000l in *silver* for the 1000l. in *gold*; besides he is well furnished with the Kings *Jewels* taken in his Cabinet at *Nazeby*; many of them known *Jewels*, as the *Harry* and the *Elizabeth*.

6. Not shall the vulgar sort of *Independents* either in *Parliaments*, *Army*, or *City*, fare better than the rest of the *Kingdom*. The *Grandees* both of *Parliament* and *Army* endeavouring to adjourn the *Parliament*, and draw all the power of both *Houses* into the Committee of *Derby house*, consisting but of 30. or 40. the rest of the *Independents Members* will find their power dissolved in the Adjournment, and swallowed up by that Committee, and their services forgotten; nor shall they have any power in the *Militia*, which is the only quarrel between them and the King; the *Grandees* disdaining to have so many *Partners* in that which they have got by their own wits; for know, that the *Grandees* have always been winnowing the *moderate men*, under the notion of the *Kings party*, then the *Presbyterians*, and now they will winnow forth the *ligbear* and more *chaffy* sort of *Independents*, who stand for the *Liberty of the People*; thing which *Cromwell* now calleth, *A fancy not to be engaged for*; and so they will bring all power into their own hands. Thus having contracted the *Parliament* into a Committee of *Safety*, they will adjourn themselves (though the *Parliament* cannot) to *Oxford* or some other place which they more confide in than *London*: and this is the *sealing the Kingdom without the King*, they so much aim at; and which, they had rather the people should be brought *practically* and by *insensible degrees*, than by *Declarations* held forth to them before-hand, or by

by politick Lectures in the Pulpit. Thos it is decreed, that this Cabal of Godly men at Derby-house shall with a military Aristocracy, or rather Oligarchy, rule this Nation with a rod of Iron, and break them in pieces like a Potter's Vessel.

Observe, that the Ordinance by which the Committee of Derby-house is revived, and the addition of Power to it, are purposely penned in such ambiguous terms, that *He that hath the Sword in his hand, may make what construction of them he pleaseth*: neither were they clearly penned, Is it in the power of the Houses (being but the Trustees of the people) to transfer or delegate their trust to a lesser number of Men? a trust not being transferrable by Law, and the people having chosen a Parliament, not a Committee, to look to their safety and peace.

7. The Grandees of the Parliament and Army have brought the Kingdom to so miserable a condition, that they have left no Authority in England able to settle peace: The KING is a close Prisoner to the Army, therefore all he shall doe will be clearly void in Law, by reason of Dares: The Parliament is in Wardship to them, who keep armed Guards upon them, Garrisons round about them, and by illegal Accusations, Blank Impeachments, threatening Remonstrances and Declarations, &c. fright away many Members, and compell the rest to Vote and un-Vote what they please, whereby all the Parliament doth is void and null in Law ab initio, it being no free Parliament, but a Sub-committee to the Army, and living as the Egyptians did, under vassalage to their own Mamalucbi, or Mercenaries: The people therefore must resolve either to have no Army, or no Peace.

The Army
hinder Peace &
Settlement.

8. They have put out the eyes of the Kingdom, the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and have brought the whole Land to make sport before them; knowing that Learning and Religion, as well as Laws and Liberties, are enemies to their barbarous, irrational, and Russian way of Government.

The two Uni-
versities
destroyed.

9. Many honest men took part with this Parliament, seduced by those fair pretences of defending Religion, Laws and Liberties, which they first held forth to the People: and being unwilling to leave their that a prevailing Faction in Parliament should so far prevaricate as first principles, to conspire to enslave King, Parliament, and Kingdom, to subvert and a slave the Laws, Liberties, and fundamental Government of the Land, under King, and Kingdom;

Many honest
men seduced
by fair preten-
cies, took part
with them re-
garding
King, and
Kingdom;

der which they and their Posterity were, & were likely to be happily governed; and betray Religion unto Heretics & Schismatics, and share the spoils of the Commonwealth between them, and think of entring themselves with them in forein Lands; yet many at the beginning much disliked, that Religion should be used as an ingredient to the carrying on of a Civil War, and that Schismatics should have so great a stroak in managing the busines; yet were pacified with this consideration, that we must refuse no helps in our defence: if a man be assualted by Thieves on the high-way, he will not refuse to joyn with Schismatics or Turks in a common defence; the same authority that then countenanced these Schismatics (it was hoped) would be able to discountenance them again when the work was done. But the Grandees of the Houses, (having other designs) had so often purged the Houses, that they left few honest moderate men in them to oppose their projects; still bringing in Schismatics, and men of their own interests, by enforced and undue Elections, into their rooms, and so by insensible degrees, new modelled the House suitable to their own corrupt delires, and new modelled the Army accordingly; so that the people (who had no intention to be interested so far) were step by step so far engaged before they were aware, that they could not draw their feet back, and do now find (to their grief) that the Bit is in their mouths, the Saddle fast girt on their galled backs, and these Rank riders mounted, who will spur them (not only out of their Estates, Laws, and Liberties, but) into Hell with renewed Treasons, new Oathe, Covenants and Engagements, if they take not the more heed, and be not the more resolute: they have changed their old honest principles, and their old friends, who bore the first brunt of the busines, and have taken new principles and friends in their room, suitable to their present desperate designs, and now (that they have squeezed what they can out of the Kings party) they think of sequestring their old friends because they adhere to their old principles.

¹⁰ Who are the
Kings bitterest
enemites.
10. Amongst those that are most bitter against the King, His own Servants (especially the *Judasses* of the Committee of the Revenue, that carry His purse, and have fingered more of His Money and Goods than they can or dare give an account for) are the greatest Zealots, those that take upon them imployments about His Revenue, and share what allowances to themselves they please
for

for their pains ; those that buy in for trifles old sleeping Pensions, that have not been payed nor allowed this thirty year, and pay themselves all arrears ; those that Rent parcels of the Kings Revenue, for the eighth or tenth part of the worth, as Cor: Holland, who renteth for 200l. per ann. as much of his Estate as is worth 1600l. or 1800l. per annum. Thus you see the *Lion* (Lord of the Forest) growing fisk and weak, become a prey, and is goared by the *Ox*, bitten by the *Dog*, yes, and kicked by the *Ax*. Look upon this president you Kings and Princes, and call to mind examples of old, that of Nebuchadnezzar, and others, lest by exalting your selves too high, you provoke God to cast you too low.

When the Grandee Independents have a desire to raise new forces, or erect new Garrisons, or use any extremity against the City, or Royal party, they commonly usher in their design with reporting to the House the discovery of some new-invented conspiracy, or plot full of danger & destruction, such as was that of many thousand consecrated Knives, and then propound their own foelid design as a counsellable way to prevent it ; and he that doth not basely believe their Informations, or doth argue against the remedies they proponnd, (though he shew never so great inconveniency in them) is presently cried out upon as a Malignant, that doth not take the danger of the Parliament to heart, and branded by the black tongues of the Godly ; and when any great busines is to be treated of in Parliament, or City, which they either desire to promote, or to obstruct, they commonly publish counterfeit News, and Letters of great victories and successes gotten by their Party in parts so remote that they cannot in a short time be confuted ; this serves to credit and animate their Party to go on boldly with their Worke, and to dishearten their Opponents ; and though the profit and reputation of a lie is seldom long-lived, yet if it last some few dayes, untill they have carried on their present busines, they care not : herein they imitate a skilfull Architect, who building an Arch, supports it in the beginning with circular props, and pieces of Timber, untill he hath cloed it, and enabled it to support it self, and then throws away the props.

When they have a design to ruine any man, before they fall openly upon his person, they secretly undermine his credit and reputation, that afterwards they may oppres him with applause, and Calumny. The A: of Slander and Calumny.

mittee of Examinations is an excellent forge for these *con-
viances*; they know where to find the *soules of Belial* (now com-
monly called *Knights of the Post*) who will trust God with their
souls to advance the good Cause; they have *secret Examinations*
of several sorts, some *preparatory only*, amounting but to suspicio-
ns and presumptions, to wound a mans good name, and make
him liable to more deadly blows hereafter; and some *consum-
matory*, laying the Axe to the root at the first blow: nor is it a
small Artifice of theirs boldly to accuse other men of those *crimes*
they themselves are *guilty of*, as they did the 11 *Members of
truckling with the King*, being their own fault; by this means
it doth *constare de re* presently, it appears such *offences* are com-
mitted: and if they can but fix them upon the persons of other
men by bold *Accusations*, close *Examinations*, and *false Witnesses*,
then *constat de persona*, they have found men to personate them,
deputies to bear the ignominy and punishment of their sines: so
some lascivious persons free themselves, bestowing their diseases
upon others.

¹² *What a Conf-* They account no man a *Godly, faithfull, confiding man*, but he
ding man is. that engages as far in sin, and makes himself as hopeless of reconcilia-
tion, as themselves. *Quis nunc diligitur nisi conscient?*

¹⁴ *The last Re-
treat & Refuge
of the Goody.* Since the revolt of some of their Ships hath almost made them
hopeless of transportacion to foreign Plantations, the schismatical
Grandeys have made Col. *Walton* (Brother-in-law to *Cromwell*)
Governour of *Lyn, Boston, and Crowland*, and of all that levi^e
of morasse Ground in the Isles of *Ely, Holland, and Marshland*, which
they can lay under water at pleasure: it is a plentifull and strong
Fastnes, able to feed 40000 men, besides the ordinary Inhabitants;
there are but three passes to enter it, over three Bridges, upon which
they have, or may build Forts for their defence, and may from
thence invade the adjacent Country at pleasure, being themselves
free from incursions; or they may (if they list) break down the
said Bridges. These places (already strong by nature) they daily
fortifie by art; for which purpose great sums of *money* have been
sent to him, and much *Arms, Powder, Ammunition, and Ordnance*
from *Windsor Castle*: Here (when all other helps fail) the *Godly*
mean to take Sanctuary: this shall be their last retreat, from whence
they will draw the waele Kingdom to Party upon Accydes of trea-
ty, & enforce their peace from them at last. These are the *stragagins*
of the *Godly*: These are our *Saints*, no where canonized but in the
Devils Calendar.

As the Church of Rome is never unfurnished with dormant Articles of Faith upon all emergent occasions; so the Grandees are never unprovided of dormant Privileges of Parliament (which they call (by a new canting word) *lex Parlamenti*, in opposition to *lex Terra*) with these they boulster out their designs: These *Th: H: Story*.
Privileges were much insisted on in their Impeachments of the ¹⁵ Sect 103, 106
Members and Aldermen; and whosoever pleads against them in his own defence, and flies from those Privileges to the known Laws for Sanctuary, is cried out upon for overthrowing the Jurisdiction and Privileges of Parliament, and therefore guilty of Malignancy; thus *John Lylburn* suffers: if he does not plead ~~against~~ ^{for} them, he lies his head on the block at the mercy of those merciless men. This net caught many a Wood-cock, until the said Aldermen and Sir *John Maynard* broke through it, and spoiled the cock-road.

The Grandees of the Parliament and Army have so totally subverted our fundamental Government and Laws, that we have neither Monarchy nor Common-wealth left; *non jam R: s: publica: sed magnum latrocinium est*, we have not so much as a trace and shadow of Government remaining; we have a KING *de jure*, but so wholly eclipsed and disabled to perform Acts of Government by his close imprisonment, that (for the present) we have no King *de facto*, and every man doth what seemeth good in his own eyes; we have Magistrates, Judges, and Justices *de facto*, but not being constituted and ordained by any lawfull Authority, nor under any authentical Great Seal according to the Laws of the Land, they are not Magistrates and Judges *de iure*, so that if we look upon the King our Supreme Governour, our violent Grandees have brought an *Inter-regnum* upon us; If upon our Magistrates, Judges, &c. they have brought a *Justitium* (a totall eclipse of Justice) upon us: It follows then, that both the imperative and coercive power of the King and Magistrates, the legislative power of the Parliament, the judicative power of the Judges and Justices, are all suspended and in *Abycance*: and like a Watch, when the principal wheels are broken, no part can move to perform its function. *Contenzimus* a Jesuite in his *Pol: saies*, *He that will introduce a new Religion, or a new form of Government, must utterly abolish the old, and erect his new Fabrick upon the ruines of it.* You see they have been apt Scholars in this doctrine of the Jesuite this 7 years, which they have spent in Demolishing

molishing; but what form of Government our Grandees will erect upon the ruines they have made, doth not yet appear, nor how all just interests, and mens particular Estates shall be preserved from being buried under the ruines of this earthquake.

17
The Regal
Legislative, &
Iudicative
power ultra pe-

The King is the only supreme Goverour of this Realm of *Eng-*
land, to regulate and protect the people by commanding the
Laws to be obserued and executed; and to this end He (and He
alone) beareth not the Sword in vain; yet the KING by him-
self can neither make, repeal, or alter any one Law, without
the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament, the *Legislative power*
residing in all three, and not in any one, or two of the three
Estates, without the third, and therefore no one or two of them
can exclude the other from having a *Negative voice* in passing,
repealing, or changing of Laws; nor can the King by himself,
or joynly with the Lords and Commons judge *what the Law is*,
this is the office of the sworne Judges of the two Benches and Ex-
chequer, who are the known Expositors, and Dispensers of *Law*
and *Justice* in all causes brought before them, yea they do de-
clare *by what Law the King governs*, thereby keeping the KING
from governing arbitrarilie and enslaving the People. And these
Judges of the Law have always been authorized by the King; and
all legall proceedings have been in his Name, and by His Autho-
rity 1200 years before *Magna Charta* granted, or any set form
of Parliament established. The Law it self is called, *the Kings Law*;
the Realm, the Kings Realm. He is the fountain of *ju-*
stice, mercy, honour, witnesse all our Statutes, Law-books, and
Histories, and the Oath of Supremacy, which every Member taketh
before he sits in Parliament. Now for any one man, or any
Assembly, Court, or Corporation of men (be it the two Houses of
*Parliament) to usurp these three powers, 1. The *Governing power*,*
*2. The *Legislative power*, 3: And the *Iudicative power*,* into themselves, is to make themselves the highest Tyrants, and the
people the basest slaves in the world; for to govern supremely by
a Law made, and interpreted by themselves according to their own
pleasure, what can be more boundlesse and arbitrary? they may
put to death whom they please for what cause they please, and con-
fiscate his estate to their own use; yet this the two Houses of
Parliament, or rather an overpowring party in the two Hou-
ses, season'd with a Schismatical humour of singularity, have late-
ly done.

1. For the *Governing power*. 1. They coyn, enhancke, and s^tbate money. 2. They make War and Peace, and continue an extraordinary Militia of an Army upon us. 3. They declare who are Enemies to the Realm. 4. They maintain forein negotiations. 5. They regulate matter of Trade, and exercise other Regalities: whereas all *Intra Regalia* belong only to the King as Supreme Goverour.

2. For the *Legislative power*. They exclude the King from His Negative Voice, and the two Houses obtrude their Ordinances (things so new, that they are not pleadable in any Court of Justice) as Laws upon the people; laying an excise, Assessments, and Taxes upon the People: They Vote and declare new Treasons, not known by the statute 25 Edw. 3. nor by any other known Law; yea even to make or receive any address to, or from the King; and they account it a breach of Privilege, if men do not believe it to be Treason, being once declared. They out men of their free-holds, and imprison their Persons, contrary to *Magna Charta*, by Ordinances of Sequestration, &c:

3. For the *Judicative power*. They erect infinite many of new Judicatories under them, as their Committees of complaints, of secret Examinations, of Indempnities; their Couacy Committees, where busineses are examined, heard, and determined without, nay against *Magna Charta*, and the known Laws: nay even in capital crimes they wave the Courts of Law, and all Legal proceedings by Outlawry, Indictment, or Tryal by Peers, and *Bill of Attainder*; (which is the only way of Tryal in Parliament: For the Parliament cannot judicially determine any thing, but by *Act of Parliament*) and set up new-invented forms of proceedings before the Lords (even against free Commoners, although the Lords be not their Peers) as in the case of the four Aldermen, &c. and the *Arch-bishop of Canterbury*: they defend these doings by a pretended necessity of their own making: but when the King had neither Army nor Garrison in the Kingdom, and thereby this necessity was removed, why did they not (to prevent Tumults, Insurrections, and a new war) content the People, and return all things into their old Chanel, and restore to the people their Religion, Laws, and Liberties, being their first principles, for which they engaged them to spend their blood and treasure, and for defence whereof, they engaged themselves and us in a *Covenant*, with Hands lifted up to the High God? Why

did they then provoke the Scots to a new War? but that they might have occasion to keep up their Army still, and inthrall the Kingdom: look upon their Doctrine, as well as their aforesaid practices, and you will find that all they do, is but to carry on a fore-laid design, to lay by the King and enslave the People, under the new erected Kingdom of the Nation: the Grandees of *Derby-house* and the Army. In the Declaration against the *Scots Papers*, p. 67. They have adjudged the King unfit to Govern, and p. 70 they say, the power of the Militia was the principal cause of their war, and quarrel with the King; and in their Declaration against the King, they say, they cannot confide in Him. It hath been commonly spoken in the House of Commons, that the two Houses, nay the House of Commons alone, is the Supreme power of the Nation under God. 16 March, 1642. Both Houses Voted it a High Breach of Privilege of Parliament, for any Person, (not excepting King or Judge) to oppose their Commands, or to deny that to be Law, which the two Houses declared to be so. In their Declaration against the *Scots Papers*, p. 63: The Members say, That in all matters either concerning Church or State, we have no Judge upon Earth but themselves. Who will account the *Popes* plenitude of power monstrous hereafter, that shall observe this Doctrine and practice of Subjects in Parliaments, claiming and exercising a Supreme Government, (whereof the Militia is a part) a Legislative and Iudicative power over the Consciences, Lives, Liberties, and estates of their Fellow Subjects; And all this under colour of a necessity, raised by themselves out of a dispute they set on foot against the King, which they have affirmatively adjudged and determined for themselves against Him, without consulting the Laws, Statutes, and usages of the Realm; Nay the very Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, which all with one voice speak against them? Who would think that a faction in Parliament, or any pest less than an Earth-quake or Deluge should in seven years time reduce so well-formed a Common-wealth into such a *Chaos*? Yet even now the People are promis'd to be governed by the known Laws, and Judges are appointed to determine suits according to the Laws. Surely There never was Tyrant that deprived his Vassals of a known Law amongst themselves, this were to disable them to acquire wealth, and so lose his own benefit of Taxes and Confiscations. By the Laws of *England*, a villain was protected in his goods against all

all men, his Lord excepted : The Turkish Vassals heap up much wealth, and are protected against their fellow slaves, though not against their Grand Seigneur who may seize their estates, and take their lives at pleasure : And this is all the protection the people of England have now by the Laws. We have the benefit of Law one against another, (unless some Powerfull Member interpose) but against the two Houses, or either of them, or any Grandee, what Law, what Justice, can protect our lives, liberties or estates? and yet we were allowed heretofore to make our defence in Law against the King. And until the King be again restored to his Right, expect no better Right to be done you by this heedless head-strong Faction in Parliament.

The summe of all their endeavours is no more but this ; The Grandees of Derby-house and the Army have already by their Votes of *No Addresses*, and their scandalous Declaration, *laid by the King, and in His Monarchy*, (notwithstanding they delay and fool the people with tedious debates of a Personall Treaty) And when this innovation is digested by the people, their next step will be to make use of the Schismatical, Antimonarchical party in the House of Commons, Army and City, to cast off the House of Peers, as Prerogative creatures and rags of Royalty : (some Schismatical Plebian Lords excepted, who shall recruit the Power they lose in the House of Lords, by being of the Committee of Derby-house) and when the people are well inured to this change, and the grievance of it worn out by Custom, then to lay by the House of Commons, and usurp the full Power of the King and Parliament into the Committee of safety at Derby house, who by way of preparation, doe already stile themselves in all forein Negotiations, The STATES : Nay they doe already affect all matters of moment at home, and assume unto themselves all the properties of a State, the Parliament being but a Sub-Committee to them, upon whom they put what Impositions and Injunctions they please; witness the design put upon the House of Commons for every Member to subscribe what number of Hors: he would maintain for a Guard; I know not whether to the Parliament, or to the Committee of Derby-house.

[This disease being now come to its Crisis, it is no hard matter to prognosticar, That nature (that is, the King, our natural liege Lord) The Prognostick of this must inevitably prevail at last against this Antimonarchical Faction, Disease,

18
The final scope of the
endeavours.

1. The King can never want a Party : the Parliament (or rather Antimonarchical faction in Parliament) can never manage a party without faction and confusion.

2. The King may husband his treasure to His best advantage : the faction in Parliament cannot, but must necessarily be cheated ; that they may be followed and befriended : since only common crimes, and common profit glues and cements them together ; and only such are found to be confiding men to them.

3. The King is now discovered (to every common capacity) to have all the known Laws on His side : the Parliament all known Laws against them, and the people will no longer be governed without Law, by new Arbitrary inventions.

4. The King hath recovered all the peoples affections : the Parliament hath lost them ; a privation which can never be reduced into habit again.

5. The King is allied both in Consanguinity of Blood, and affinity of Cause with all the Princes of Christendom : the faction in Parliament are *terre filii, faterculi Gigantum, Mushromes.*

6. The Kings Army will obey Him and His Interest : the Parliaments Army will command them and their Interests ; besides, they are men of different Principles and Interests , only held together by profit ; and when that fails, they fall in funder.

Nothing therefore but a free *Personal Treaty* in London can prevent a Conquest, whatsoever desperate forlorn people say to the contrary.



The Epilogue.

I Am not Ignorant that there is a natural purging, a natural pleboromy, belonging to Politique, as well as to Natural bodies ; and that some good humors are always evacuated with the bad ; yet I cannot but deplore what I have observed, That the honestest & justest men on both sides (such as, if they have done evil, did it because they thought it good ; such as were carried aside with specious pretences , and many of them seduced by Pulpit-devils, who transformed themselves into Angels of light) have always fared worse than other

men,

men, as if this difference between the King and Parliament were but a syncretismus or illusion against honest men : nay, I do farther foresee, that in the period and closing up of this Tragedy, they will fare worst of all, because they have not taken a liberty to enrich themselves with publique spoils, and fat themselves by eating out the bowels of their mother, but are grown lean and poor by their integrity; whereby being disabled to buy friendship in the days of Trouble, they will be put upon it to pay other mens reckonings. When Verres was Praetor of Sicily, he had with wonderfull corruptions pillaged that Province ; and at the same time the Praetor of Sardinia being sentenced for decuplicating and Robbing that Province, Timarchides, Verres Correspondent at Rome, writ a very anxious Letter to him, giving him warning of it : But Verres in a jolly humour answered him, That the Praetor of Sardinia was a fool, and had extorted no more from the Sardinians than would serve his own turn ; but himself had gathered up such rich booties amongst the Sicilians, that the very overplus thereof would dazzle the eyes of the Senate, and blind them so, that they should not see his faults : Such (I foresee) will be the lot of the more just and modest men, who shall be guilty because they were fools, as the other sort shall be innocent because they were knaves. Whatsoever befalls (you clear and anxious souls) be not ashamed, be not afraid of your integrity : if this Kingdom be a fit habitation for honest men, God will provide you a habitation here ; if it be not capable of honesty, God will take you away from the evils to come, and pour out all the Vials of his wrath on this totally and universally corrupted Nation, this incurable people, Qui nec vitia sua nec eorum remedia ferre potest : for my own part, (if I am not such already) I hope God will make me such a man, Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent ; and if Moses in a heroick zeal, to draw a remission of the peoples sins from God, desired to be blotted out of his Book, (the Book of Life) and St. Paul to be Anathema for his Breeches ; why should not I (with relation to myself, and submission to Christ) say, oportet unum mori pro populo, it is fit one man die for the people, and devote my self to death for my Country, as the family of the Decii in antient Rome were wont to do ? I have read and admired their examples, why not imitate them? is it because (as Machiavel saith) The Christian Religion doth too much break, enfeeble, and cowardise the spirit of man, by persecuting and subduing nature, by denying her due Liberty, and tying her to be more passive than active ? At facere & pati fortia Romanum,

imo Christianum est; or is it because in this generall deluge of sinne and corruption, a publique spirit, and excellency in virtue is accounted a degree of madness? or is it because of the corrupt judgement of these times, which makes a man more infamous for his punishment than for his sin? and therefore Heroick acts are out of fashion: the circumstances and ceremonies of Death are more taken notice of than Death it self; these follies weigh not with me. Sublimis ac humi putrescam, parvi refert. The Thief upon the Crosse found a ready way to Heaven, How much more an honest man? Many a man out of Prison steps into Heaven, no man out of Paradise ever found the way thither: Salebrosa sit via, modo certa, modo expedita; alte succinetis ad iter me accingo.

THE Premises considered, I do here in the name and behalf of all the free Commons of England declare and protest, that there is no free nor legal Parliament sitting in England, but that the two Houses sit under a visible, actual and a horrid force of a mutinous Army, and of a small party of both Houses conspiring and engaged with the Army, to destroy, expell, and murder with false Accusations, and Blank and Illegal Impeachments and prosecutions, the rest of their fellow Members, who late in Parliament doing their duty, when the two Speakers with a small company of Members, secretly fled away to the Army, and sat in Council with them, contriving how to enslave King, Parliament, City, and Kingdom, and how to raise Taxes at their pleasure, which they share amongst themselves and their party, under the name and title of the Godly, the Saints; and afterwards they brought the Army up to London against the Parliament and City in hostile manner, a design far exceeding the Plot of Jermine, Goring, &c. to bring up the Northern Army to London, to over-awe the Parliament: I do farther protest, that the two Houses have sat under the said force, ever since the sixth of August 1647: and therefore they all have done, and all they shall do, in the condition they sit in, is void and null in Law, *ab initio*, by their own doctrine and judgement included in their Ordinance of the 20 of August last, whereby they null and void, *ab initio*, all Votes, Orders, &c. passed from the 26 July, 1647. to the 6 August following.

Arguments against all accommodation and Treaties, between
the City of LONDON, and the ingaged Grandees of the Par-
liament and Army.

1. **I**T will never be safe nor honourable, for so great a City to accommodate and joyn interest with a conspiring Party, that by frequent violations of their faith and duty, have enslaved King, Parliament, City and Kingdom, and broken the Faith of this Nation, given to the Scots in the large Treaties, and in the National Covenant.

2. By accommodating with them, you make all their crimes your own, their subtilty being to involve you to joyn with them in defence of their crimes.

3. The Scottish quarrel is not against the English Nation, but against the treacherous and hypocritical Grandees, who by perjuring themselves, and falsifying their engagements both unto Kingdom and Army, keeping the Souldiers by false suggestions from disbanding, and totally obstructing Irelands relief; and also a conspiring party in Parliament, who keep them up to make good the aforesaid crimes, forcing what Votes they please to passe, by over-awing the Parliament: Willasse Cromwells laying his hand upon his Sword, and forcing the House to passe those traiterous Votes against the King, contrary to their own Consciences, Allegiance, Protestations, Vow and Covenant, and to raise Taxes upon the people, which they share among themselves. This war is not likely to be of any continuance, considering there being in the Army many conscientious men, who have had such ample experiment of the falsehood of their Grand Officers, that they are not like to hazard their lives again under the command of such Grand Impostors as they are, also knowing the General hatred of the Kingdom to them, under whose insupportable burthens and oppressions it groaneth. Nor have we any way to break the power of the said Grandees of this Army but by the Scots, whereby the just rights and Interests of all the three Kingdoms may be settled, and Ireland relieved; All which the Scots have declared in their former Papers delivered to both Houses of Parliament.

4. If you accommodate with this faction, you must have the same friends and foes with them, as well as the same sins and quarels; and then it will grow to a National quarrel between England and Scotland, which will be of long continuance and misery: and the Interest of the King and his Children, and of all Princes of Christendom con- cerned

cerned in the example, will be carried on in the Kingdoms of Scotland against you, if you joyn with those beggarly Grandees, who have enriched themselves, and their fellow-Impostors, by the ruines of the Kingdom. You will lose your credit and interests with your friends and brethren of Scotland; the only fear and terror of whose coming into England kept this Faction (which all men know is never satisfied with money and blood) from taking many of your innocent heads from off your shoulders, and confiscating your Estates to pay the arrears of the Army: witness their often speeches to this purpose in the house of Commons, and their illegal and violent proceeding against you: you will likewise lose all the people of England.

I have shewed you your losses, let me shew you your gains by this accommodation, that by comparing one with the other, you may cast up your account whether you shall be gainers or losers by it.

1. They offer you the Tower of London, and your Militia to be restored (things of no great consideration) and your Aldermen and Citizens to be set at liberty: they do not offer to disband their Army, which make them Lord it over you, and over power both Tower and Militia; and when they have divided you from all your friends, and destroyed your reputation, and are secure from the Scots, the same violence which at first took your Tower, your Militia and your most honest Citizens from you, can deprive you of them all again at pleasure, when you shall have none to stick by you: your obligation to them shall be of steel, theirs to you but of straw, he that gives me that he can deprive me of at pleasure, gives me nothing.

2: Cromwell and his party knew your City to be the entire strength of England. In Rich. 2. days (when it was not half so great and populous as now) it slew Wat Tyler and routed his rabble, six times as many in number as the Army. They therefore fear you, and consequently hate you, and labour nothing more than to divide and weaken you, which is their proper interest: For which purpose (to divide the City in it self) they caused the Parliament to change your Militia into other hands: they cut off Westminster, Southwark, and the Hamlets from your Militia, to weaken it; they have divided you from the Parliament, they have endeavoured to divide the Countrey from you. Ut dividendo singula imperant universis. Wherefore the Army in their Remonstrance 7. December 1647. Insolently demand Reparations from the City to the Countrey adjacent, for above 100000l. losse sustained through the Armies attendance on the Cities defaults; which was a device only to make the Country quarrel.

quarrell with the City , and to make the Armie Vmpiers.

3. Consider you shall joyn with them that never keep Faith longer than they may gain by it, whereof you have many examples. Any honest man may be deceived once, but he is a fool that will be deceived twice by one man.

Nay you cannot treat with these men , nor give them a Common Council, or Hall, without losse and danger : they have always made lies their refuge, and built their Designs upon the sandy foundations of Rumors and Fables.

Cromwell and Glover already give out , that they and you are as good as agreed, that you differ only upon a punctilio of honour, which will soon be reconciled : what is the meaning of this ? but that they (having creatures of their own , Commissioners in Scotland) have advertisement to spread the same reports there, thereby to take off the edge of your friends affections ; to lay an imputation of inconstancy upon you , and make you inconsiderable in the judgements of your best friends, and retard all indeavours for your succour. In the meantime, this party hath blocked up all passages to Scotland , that truth can have no access to you , and you have only such news as Derby-house doth please to impart to you. These men have committed those crimes that cannot be safe without committing greater : they must on headlong : go not with them for company ; they desire to bestow their plague-sores upon others. Let it not trouble you , that the Parliament hath approved their subscription of the Ingagement with the Army; it was a Vote extorted in a thin house, many Members having been driven away by threats of the Army before , and there were many dissenting Members. A little patience and constancy will settle you in a lasting peace.

To petition the Houses to repeal their four Votes against the King, is to save their reputation , that seek to destroy yours.

A seasonable Caution to the City of London.

Gentlemen of the City,

YOur Neighbours of Kent , and other Counties wishing well to them , take it unkindly , that (notwithstanding all these former admonitions) you should let down your chains , and give a free march to this bloody, cheating , schismatical Army at all hours of the night through your City , to cut their throats , and

lend them 6000l. to enable them to march: when they had n other design, but in a peaceable way to deliver a Petition to th Houses, demanding nothing but what the Parliament by thei Declarations, Covenant, the Oaths of Supremacy and allegianc, and the known Laws of the Land ought to grant: Only, being fore warned by the inhumane assissiation of the *Surrey* Petitioners, they had some men in Armes a sufficient distance from the Town, to secure their Messengers. They have by their Letters to your selves and the Houses manifested the cleerness of their intentions to you all. They are known to be men of settled habitations and fortunes (for the most part) not vagabonds and Souldiers of Fortune like the Army. Their commerce with you help you both to trade and feed: whereas the Armies insolent march in triumph through your City, so far lessened your reputatiōn ever since, that you constantly lose in your trading 20000^l. a Week, and no Bullion comes into the Mint; whereby multitudes of you are undone, and yet the Armies Arrears, and all other Taxes are exacted from you with as much cruelty, as you lost nothing.

Remember that Butchery committed upon the unarmed Apprentices, when Cromwell cried to the Souldiers to kill man, woman, and child, and fire the City: at which time his Nose looked as prodigiously upon you as a Comet.

Remember the scorn put upon you by a Grandee when you were enabled to put up your Chains again; That the House had consented your Posis should have Chains as well as your Aldermen, and did as well deserve them. And Weaver's word when your Guards came to attend the House, that 60 of the Army should beat 300 of them.

Remember how unwillingly and juglingly they restored unto you the Tower (first plundered of all its ammuition you formerly had in it) and part only of your Militia, and that clogged with many restrictions: they that bestow gifts so grudgingly upon you when they are weak, will deprive you of them again when they are strong. Adversity makes them your false friends, Prosperity your reall Enemies, Necessity only ties them to you: have a care therefore you do not relieve their necessities, lest you lose them, like the frozen Snake in the bosome, when they grow warm they will bite and sting.

You seem to have forgotten the unjust imprisonment of your Aldermen; The unsuithfulness and inconstancy of their Votes, and

and Ordinances, even for security of Money, and Land bought ; the several Informations and Testimonie, you had of their good intentions to borrow more of your Money, not by way of Loan , nor upon the Publique Faith, but by way of plunder. Notwithstanding all these injuries, and many more, (as if God had infatuated you, to destroy you) you suffer a corrupt Faction within you to List men (to the amazement of your neighbour Counties) whose principles you first examine ; and if they be not *Independents*, you trust them not with Arms. I hear of a young man, who being asked, *of what principles he was ?* he answered, *That in these doubtfull times he professed no principles but gain :* to whom was replied, *then we are of one principle, for we are resolved to keep what we have got.* Behold the Principles of these men that obstruct our peace I consider that Heaven and Earth have denounced war against these men, and that God himself hath touched the hearts of all men as one man to rise against them , and demand to have Peace , Religion , and Justice restored. When the whole Kingdom shall rise in a flame, what will be your lot, but smock in your eyes, and at at last a consuming fire in your bowels ? when you only shall be left to maintain this domineering Army with your money , and to recruit them with your blood ? many of their Officers lay already, *That the Country is exhausted of Money, and you shall be their purse-bearers :* but because you are a cursit Cow, they must keep the Army about you, that the Souldiers may hold you by the horns whilst their friends milk you.

Consider how absolute a necessity, and how general a resolution there is , that all things should return to their old chanel : If you stop the violence of this Torrent, it will swell untill it overwelme and drown you. You that are guiltless, joyn not with the guilty ; you that are guilty sin no more ; there will be mercy for you if you repent, and amend in time. The very multitude of offenders will help to excuse you offences ; let not despair hurry you from one sin to another until you fall into destruction, as it did *Iudas*, whose Despair (by all Divines) is held to be a greater impiety than his Treachery ; by the first, he sinned against the God-head of Christ ; by the second, against his Manhood only.

The Remonstrance and Declaration of the Knights,
Esquires, Gentlemen, and Freeholders in
C O L C H E S T E R.

PEtitions (the birth-right of Subjects) are by Law our addresses to our King, (Gods Vicegerent) by custom our approaches to the Houses of Parliament, (His Majesties great Council,) by them we used humbly to present our modest desires, and were wont to receive answers (as Gideons fleece the dew) without noise, yet satisfactory; but that was denied our first Petition, and before our second could be ready, our brethren of Surrey by theirs echoed our prayer to both Houses of Parliament, but received their answer, (as the Jews their Law) in thunder and lightning, a two-edged sword the tongue, and the report of Muskets the voice, which spake nothing but wounds and death.

We therefore thus admonished, resolved thus to present our grievances to the World, and our Petitions to Heaven, for a blessing upon our intended indeavours.

Our grievances are these :

1. First, the distraction and threatened ruine of our glorious Protestant Church, the neglect & abuse of Religion, the destruction of our Universities (the springs of all Learning, Divine and Humane) occasioned by the fierce and ignorant Separatists, set up and maintained as Rulers both in Church and State, by the prevalency and violence of a rebellious and destructive Army, under the command of the L. Fairfax, and countenanced by the seeming Authority of a pale, unfree, and over-awed House of Parliament.

2. Next, that contrary to the Oath and duty of Allegiance (from which no power can, nor yet hath pretended to absolve us) our Sovereign Lord the King is by the design of the said Army, drawn from His House at Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight, and there by the power of Col. Hammond and others of the Army, Imprisoned, and detained from His Parliament; by which act the said Hammond, and all adhering to him, are according to the Votes passed in both Houses, 16 March, 1641. Enemies to the peace of the Kingdom.

3. A third, is the violent and unchristian separation of the King, His Royal Consort and Children, at once depriving His Majesty of the two first blessings bestowed on Man.

4. The forcing the Queen and Prince of Wales, to seek in a foreign Nation, what in their own they could not enjoy, liberty, safety, and support.

5. The exercise of Martial Law while the Courts of Justice are open, and sitting at Westminster, the obstructing justice in our Courts of Judicature, & by the privat Committee of Indemnity perverting judgment, and exercising a arbitrary power, which is a subversion of our antient Laws, and an introducing of a tyrannical government, as was resolved by both Houses in the Cases of the E. of Strafford, and Archb. of Canterbury, and writ in their bloud.

6. Sixtly, the present mischief and future danger to the whole Kingdom, by reason that the publique affairs of highest concern, are managea and carried on by a few particular men in a private Committee at Derby-house, wherein contrary to the self-denying Ordinance) the prime actors are chief Officers of the Army, and have by our unhappy differences, possest themselves of the most beneficial offices and imployments of the Kingdom; and the other Places of profit and commodity, are by their design conferred on others, Members of the Army and Houses of Parliament, to purchase their compliance and Votes in all matters agitated in the Houses of Parliament: by reason wherof all motions for His Maj:ties return to his Parliament (the first step to our desired Peace) have been either totally rejected, or by them politickly delayed, because Peace would determine both their power and profit.

7. The Estates of Delinquents, the Lands of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, (designed by several Ordinances for discharge of publique Debts) are by the Houses and power of the Army soared and divided amongst themselves, while the publique debts be unsatisfied, the common Soldier unpayed, the maimed unrelieved, the Widows and Children of the slain unprovided for, and all left burdens to the Commonwealth.

8. That the Army consisting of mean, ignorant and illiterate men, (only gilt with hypocrisy, divine and civil) under pretence of tender Consciences (the better to induce and tolerate all Heresies) have expelled and suppress all learned Orthodox Divines, & Church Government, and crying Liberty, Liberty, have subjetted our Persons and Estates to arbitrary Law and tyranny; and by Rape imbracing the Legillative power, cuckolds the body Politick, giving Laws to the whole Kingdom, and yet by Petitions and Remonstrances make

make both Houses father (as their own) the adulterous issue.

*9. I hat this Army assuming to themselves the modelling & setting
tlen ent both of Church and State, at Windsor in April last, in their
Council did consult these 3 Questions.*

First, Whether shall we joyn with the Levellers, and new model both Church and State?

Next, Whether with the moderate Party, Treat, and receive the KING with more qualified and limited Power?

Thirdly, Whether Depose the KING, Dis-inherit the PRINCE, Crown the DUKE of YORK, and appoint a Protector?

The first was held to promise most of liberty and profit; but threatened greatest danger in effecting, and difficulty in continuing.

The second was said to be easiest obtained and continued, because nighest to the present frame and constitution already settled; but would bring them little of profit, and less of Sovereignty.

The third (like Benjamin, last in birth, but first in the Parents affections) was held not difficult to be acted, but to be maintained; for it would require both the expence of much blood and money, and the Kingdom to re-call York and Lancaster, under the names of Wales and York.

To this Lieut. Gen. Cromwel answered, It was the better, for that would necessitate the continuance of our Army, which lectures our persons, will enforce our reasons, make just our demands, and facilitate their grant; For the blood, that will flow from the cheap veins of Common Souldiers, whereof England hath plentie, and we will not want; For the money, London is our bank, and from their Purses it shall drain to our Coffers,

Commissary Ireton, L. Gen. Cromwel's Son-in-Law, said, The work was half done; for we have already Voted no Addresses to be made to the King, and Him guilty of crimes enough to Depose Him, and by Imprisoning His Person, have fitted Him for a private life, and by it taught the people that He is subject to the dispose of both Houses of Parliament, whose Ordinances are only powerful by our Swords, and therefore our Actions shall be legal by their Vote. Further, the Prince (said he) is link'd with his Father in crime, and therefore cannot be severed in punishment, he hath been General in a Western Army, warring

(as)

(as his Father) against the Parliament, a crime that as it rendred the Father fit to be Depos'd, so doth it the Son unfit to succeed in the Government. And that the descent of the Crown purge not him, (as it did Hen. 7.) let us in the Fathers life time Crown the Duke of York, now in our power, whose tender years have prefered him innocent, and presents him fitter for protection and our design, and should any blame our severity towards the King and Prince, others will commend our clemency towards the Duke of York.

Vpon the result of this Council, L. Gen. Cromwell in the House of Commons, tells Mr. Speaker, That it was time to set on foot our great design, and that such as should not concur in Votes with us, be not continued of us.

The motion being mis-timed, and divers of his party absent, it was only wondred at by Master Kughtly, and died with the words. The Scene now alters from Westmister to Carisbrook-Castle, and the King that could not be remov'd by Votes, must now by Poyson, the Actor Col. Hammond, Major Roif, &c. all Members of the Army: yet by cursed Excise that insensibly devours the poor, by insupportable Monthly Taxes that impoverish the rich, contrary to Law and our Allegiance, contrary to our Protestation and Covenant (inforced upon us) we must traiterously maintain and pay this Army that traiterously contrive and endeavour the deposal and murder of our Sovereign Lord the King, the subversion of our Protestant Church, our Fundamental and known Laws.

We therefore declare to the World, that God blessing us, We will with hazard of our lives and fortunes, disband and dissipate this Army the Suppressors of the pure Protestant Religion, the Imprisoners, and would be the Murtherers of their Sovereign Lord and King, and grand Oppressors of the Common-wealth; then free from Im-prisonment our said Sovereign, and him (God-willing) restore to his lawfull Government, just Rights, and Throne in Parliament; this done, we shall joyfully and readily depose our justly assumed Arms, and on our knees beg what his Majesty hath often most graciouly offered, and will undubitedly grant, his most Royal and graciouys pardon to all his mis-lead Subjects, willing to return to their Allegiance, and forward to bring the King back to his own house.

We therefore hereby earnestly desire and request all loyal and well-affecked Subjects, as well Members of both Houses of Parliament as

others, to be herein aiding and assisting to us. First, by not recruiting the Forces of the Lord Fairfax. Next, by withdrawing all aid and assistance from his Army, by withholding Excise and Monethly taxes allotted for their pay and support, and to give us with their prayers such assistance as their Allegiance and opportunity shall advise; and we trust that the God that judgeth rightly will crown our loyal action with happy success, and our success with a glorious peace, which is heartily prayed for, and shall (God willing) be resolutely fought for by us, His Majesties loyal and faithful Subjects in Colchester.



*A List of the Names of the Members of the House of Commons,
Observing which are Officers of the Army, contrary to the
self-denying Ordinance: Together with such summes of
Money, Offices, and Lands, as they have given to themselves
for service done and to be done, agaist the KING and
Kingdome. Corrected and augmented.*

Note, Reader, that such as have this mark [*] comming immediately before their Names, are Recruiters, illegally elected, by colour of the new Seal, the power of the Army, and voices of the Souldiers, and are un duly returned, and serve accordingly.

The first Century.

Villiam Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons, worth 2000l. per an. beside rewards for courtesies, (not to say Bribes) Master of the Rolls, worth 3000l. per an. beside the sale of Offices: Chamberlain of Chester in the Earl of Darbies place, And until of late Chancellor of the Dutchey of Lancaster, worth 1200l. per an. and one of the Commissioners of the great Seal, worth 1500l. per an. and had 6000l. given him at one time by the House.

2. Bulstrode Whitlock, Commissioner of the great Seal, worth 1500l. per an. and had 2000l. given him out of Mr. George Mynn's estate.

3. Edmund Pridaux, formerly a Commissioner for the great Seal,

Seal; worth 1500 l. per an. Now by Ordinance practices within the Bar, as one of the Kings Counsel; worth 500 l. per an. and is Postmaster for all Inland Letters; worth 100 l. every Tuesday night beside his Supper, and it was thus got : The Lord Stanhope, the Post-masters and Carriers of England complained in Parliament, 'gainst Mr. Witherings and others, touching the carrying of Letters, where-upon the benefit of foreie Letters were given to the Earl of Warwick; worth 5000 l. per an. and the Inland Letters to Mr. Prideaux: good Parliament Justice.

4. Roger Hill, a Barrester of the Temple, in no practice, nor of a considerable estate, till this Parliament, hath now from the House the Bishop of Winchesters Manner of Taunton Dean, being the best of England; and worth 1200 l. per an. when the estates for lives determine.

5. Humphrey Salway, the Kings Remembrancer in Mr. Fanshaw's place; worth 200 l. per annum.

6. Francis Rose, Provoit of Eaton, in Dr. Stewards place; worth 600 l. per annum, and hath got a College Lease worth 600 l. per annum.

7. John Lisle, Birrester of the Temple, Master of St. Cresseis in Dr. Lewes his place, being a place for a Divine; and worth 800 l. per annum.

8. Oliver St. John, by Ordinance both Attorney and Solicitor to the King; worth what he plese to make it; and hath the passing of all Pardons upon Commissions; worth 40000 l.

9. Sir William Allison, Alderman of York, Clerk of the Hamper, worth 1000 per an. he hath Crabb-Castle; worth 600 l. per an. Sometimes the Bishop of York in York-shire.

10. Thomas Hoile, Alderman of York, Treasurers Remembrancer in the Exchequer, in Sir Peter Osburn's place; worth 1000 l. per annum.

11. Thomas Purry Senior, first a Weaver in Gloucester, then an ignorant Countrey Solicitor, had 3000 l. given him, and Mr. Gerards place in the Petty-bag; worth 400 l. per an.

12. Thomas Purry Junior, Son to the Elder, Receiver of the Kings Rents in Gloucester and Wiltshire, Clerk of the Peace of Gloucestershire, worth 200 l. per an. and Captain of Foot and Horse, the first year of this Parliament, servant to Mr. Towneshead, an Attorney of Staple Inne.

13. *William Ellis, Steward of Stepney*, worth 200*l. per an.*
and by him sold to one of the Temple.

14. *Miles Corbet*, at the beginning of the Parliament 3000*l.*
in debt for himself and his Mother, more than he was worth: now
one of the Registers in Chancery, worth 700*l. per an.* besides
Chair-man for scandalous Ministers, worth 1000*l. per an.* And
hath money in his purse.

15. *John Goodwyns*, the other Register in Chancery, worth 700*l.*
per annum.

16. *Sir Thomas Widdington*, a Commissioner of the great Seal,
worth 1500*l. per an.*

17. *Edward Biſbe*, Garter Herald, in Sir *Edward Walkers*
place, worth 600*l. per an.*

18. * *Walter Strickland*, Agent in Holland for the two Houses
of Parliament, worth to him 5000*l.*

19. *Nicholas Love*, Mr. Speakers Chamber fellow, one of the
six Clerks in Chancery, in Mr. *Perradock* place; worth 2000*l. per*
annum.

20. *Sir Gilbert Gerrard*, much in debt before the Parliament,
pay-master to the Army, and had 3*d. per pound* allowed, besides
Gratuities, worth 6000*l.* and now Chancellor of the Dutcheys,
worth 1200*l. per an.*

21. *Gilbert Gerrard*, his second son, Clerk of the Dutcheys, and
for whose benefit the Clerk-ship of the Assize in *Norfolk*, is granted
to Mr. *Edward Garret* his Cozen by the procurer men of Sir
Gilbert, and is worth 500*l. per an.*

22. *John Selden*, had given him 5000*l.* of which he received
3500*l. pound.*

23. * *John Bond*, (Son to *Dennis Bond*, a Parliament man) made
Master of Trinity Hall in *Cambridge*, which Mr. *Selden* refused to
accept of.

24. *Sir Benjamin Rudiard*, given him 500*l.* And hath he not de-
served it?

25. * *Lucas Hedges*, Customer of *Bristol*.

26. *Sir John Hipſley*, hath the keeping of three of the Kings
Parks, *Mary-bone-Park*, that was Mr. *Carewes*, *Hampton-Park*,
and *Bulby-Park*, and given him 2000*l.* in Money.

27. *Sir Thomas Walsingham*, the Honour of *Eltbam*, that was
the Earl of *Dorsets*, the middle Park and house, which was Master
Whites

whites, and hath cut down 4000 Timber Trees:

28. *Benjamime Valentine*, given him 5000 l.

29. * *Sir Henry Heyman*, given him 5000 l.

30. *Denzell Holles*, given him 5000 l.

31. * *Nath. Bacon*, given him 3000 l.

32. * *John Steevens*, given him out of the Lord *Astley's* Composition 1000 l.

33. * *Henry Smith*, made one of the six Clerks; worth 2000 l. per annum.

34. *Robert Reynolds*, had 2000 l. given him; Besides *Abingdon-Hall*, and the Lands, worth 400 l. per annum. Hath bought a good penny-worth of Bishps Lands, hath 20000 l. beyond Sea, as he made appear upon his Marriage.

35. *Sir John Cloworthy*, Treasurer for *Ireland*, and by the Army charged with defrauding of the State of 40000 l. which may be one reason the King could never get an Aceount of the monies raised for the *Irish*, though he desired it.

36. *John Ashe*, given him out of Mr. *John Coventry's* Composition 4000 l. out of Sir *Edward Moseley's* 1000 l. out of Mr. *Edw. Philip's* 1200 l. out of Sir *John Towel's* estate 8000 l. And (which is worth all this) is the great Chairman at *Goldsmiths Hall*. Is not this better than cloathing?

37. * *John Lenthall*, son to the Speaker, made one of the six Clerks, worth 2000 l. per annum.

38. * *Francis Allen*, a poor Goldsmith at St. *Dunstans* in *Fleet-street*, now made a Customer for *London*. In honour of whom clipped moneys are called (*Allens*.)

39. *Giles Green*, the Receiver of *York-shire*, being put out of his place, got it for his Son-in Law, is Chair-man for the Navy, and for Sir *Thomas Daws* his estate, and what it was worth to him, Sir *Thomas Daws* his Creditors will tell you; for they got nothing.

40. *Francis Pierpoint* hath the Arch-bishop of *Yorks* Lands, lying in *Nottingham-shire*.

41. *William Pierpoint* hath 7000l. given him, and all the Earl of *Kingston's* personal Estate, worth 40000l.

42. * *John Palmer*, Mr. of *All-Souls* in *Oxford*, in Doctor *Selden's* place, a Divine.

43. * *John Blackfiston*, a poor shop keeper in *New-Castle*, was Exec-

Executor to the Executor of Sir John Fenner, trusted with 6900 l. for Charitable uses, and was sued in Chancery to perform the trust; but got himself returned a Burgess for Newcastle by the Scots Garrison there; had 3000l. given him out of one Gentleman's Composition, and out of others as much as made it up 12000 l. as was made appear at a Committee before Mr. Sandis of the Temple Chair-man; hath also a Cole-meter's place worth 200l. per annum, and the Bishop of Durham's Castle at *Durham*, and Lands of great value.

44. *Tho. Cetly*, long a Prisoner for debt, helped out by the Parliament, and made Recorder of *BridgeWater*.

45. * *Thomas Moor*, an Officer in the Custom-house, and his brother Governor of *Ludlow*.

46. * *Scawine*, given him 2000 l.

47. *Isaac Pennington*, twice broke, once Lieutenant of the Tower; a year and a half Lord Mayor of *London* before his time; had 7000l. given him, and hath title of Bishops Lands.

48. *Samuel Vassel* given him 1000 l.

49. *Oliver Cromwell* Lieut. Gen. hath 2500 l. per an. given him out of the Marquess of *Worcesters* Estate, for which 4000 l. per an. is set out at the rate of 2500 l.

50. Sir *Wil. Brereton*, Col. Gen. for the *Cheshire* Forces, hath Cashobery, and other Lands of the 1. Capt: worth 2000l. per an. and the Archbishops house and Lands at *Croiden*, where he hath turned the Chappel into a Kitchin. *A goodly Reformation*, and fits with his stomack as well as his Religion.

51. * *Thomas Waite*, Collonel, Governour of *Burley*, where he thrives so well, as he is now buying 500 l. per an. who before was not able to buy 5 l. a year.

52. Sir *Oliver Luke*, decayed in his Estate, Collonel of Horse.

53. Sir *Samuel Luke* his Son, Collonel, and Scout-master for the Counties of *Bedford*, &c.

54. * *Thomas Gell*, Lieut. Col. to Sir *John Gell*, made Recorder of *Derby*, in Mr. *Allistrie's* place.

55. *Valentine Walton*, Collonel, and Governour of *Lin Regis*.

56. * *Richard Norton*, Collonel, Governour of *Southampton*.

57. * *Edward Harvey*, late a poor Silk-man, now Col. and hath got the Bishop of *London's* House and Manoir of *Fulham*.

58. *Edward Roffiter*, Collonel, and Generall of all the Lin-

Lincolnsire Forces, and Governor of Belvoyn Castle.

59. * Sir Michael Livesey, Col. Sequestrator, and Plunder-master General of Kent.

60. Henry Ireton (son in Law to Lieutenant General Cromwell) Colonel, and Commissary-General.

61. * Richard Salway, Col. formerly a Grocer's man.

62. * John Birch, formerly a Carrier, now a Colonel.

63. * Thomas Rainsborough, a Skipper of Lin, Col. Governor of Woodstock, and Vice-Admiral of England.

64. * Robert Black, Col. Governor of Taunton.

65. * Francis Russel, Colonel.

66. * Rowland Wilson, Colonel.

67. * Robert Harley, Col. son to Sir Robert Harley.

68. * Richard Brown, Major General, and Governor of Abridge.

69. * Peter Temple, Captain of a Troop of Horse.

70. * John Ven, Colonel, Governor of Windsor, had 4000l. given him:

71. * Algernon Sidney, Governor of Dover-Castle.

72. * Richard Ingolsby, Colonel, Governor of Oxford.

73. * John Hutchinson, Colonel, Governor of Nottingham.

74. * Sir John Palgrave, Col. at the siege of Newark.

75. * Edward Ludlow, Governor of

76. * Cornelius Holland renteth as much of the Kings Grounds for 200l. per an. as is worth 1600l. or 1800l. per an.

77. * Philip Skippon, Sergeant-Major-General of the Army, Major-Gen. of London, and Governor of Bristol, had 1000l. per an. lands of inheritance given him.

78. * Charles Fleetwood, Colonel.

79. * Thomas Westrow, Capt. under Sir Michael Livesey, was nothing worth, until a Captain and a Parliament man; and now hath gotten the Bishop of Worcesters Mai or of Hartleborow, which proves he hath two good and beneficial offices.

80. Henry Martyn, Col. of a Regiment of Horse, and a Regiment of Whores.

81. Nathaniel Fiennes, Col. once Governor of Bristol. Thereby hangs a Tail.

82. Anthony Stapley, Col. Governor of Chichester.

83. Alexander Rigby, Col. and Governor of Bolton.

84. *Charls Pym*, Captain of a Troop of Horse.

85. Sir *Arthur H. Astley*, Colonel, Governour of *New-Castle*, and hath the Bishop of *Durham's* house, Park, and Manor of *Ankland*, and 6500l. in money given him.

86. *William Iepson*, Colonel.

87. Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Major-General for *Denbigh*, and five other Counties.

88. *Godfrey Boswell*, Colonel.

89. The Lord *Gray* of *Grooby*, (son to the E. of *Stanford*) Col. and hath given to him the Queens Manor house, Park, and Lands at *Holdenby*, and ther's a great fall of the Woods.

90. Sir *Will. Constable*, Col. Governour of *Glecester*, he sold his lands to Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, for 25000l. and is restored to it again by Parliament.

91. Sir *Will. Purefoy*, Col. and Governour of *Coventry*, fought resolutely against the Crosse in the Market place at *Warwick*, and against the Ancient Monuments in the Earls Chapel in St. *Maries* Church there; for which he had 1500l. given him, but when he should have fought with the Enemy, hid himself in a Barley-field, for which a Water-man at *Temple stairs* (that had been his soldier) refused to carry him.

92. Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Col. famous for plundering *Warde Castle*, hath the Lands of the Countesse *Dorvager of Rutland*, worth 1500l. per an. and she allowed but 500l.

93. *Herbert Marley*, Col. Plunder-maister of *Surrey*.

94. *John Moor*, Col. of the Guards, and for some time had the benefit of Passes out of *London*.

95. *Walter Long*, Col. had 5000l. and the Office of Register for 4 years.

96. Sir *Will. Waller*, General, and lost two Armies, yet a gainer by the employment.

97. *John Allured*, Col.

98. *Michael Oldsworth*, no Col. but Governour of *Pembroke*, and *Montgomery*, and hath a share with his Lord out of Sir *Henry Comptons* Office, worth 3000l. per an. and is Keeper of *Wind. for Park*.

99. *The Scot*, a Brewes Clerk formerly, hath the Bishops house at *Lambeth*.

100. Master *Alburtis*, when he went Commissioner into *Scot-land*.

land, had the Clerk of the Peaces place for Lancashire, and 1000 l. in money given him.

Besides these Offices, Commands, and Gratuities, every Member of the House of Commons, being in all 516. are by their own Order allowed 4l. per Week a man; which amounts to 110000 l. per annum.

By the Ordinance for sequestring Delinquents (1 April, 1643.) it was declared, *That their Estates should go for maintenance of the Publick Affairs, and several Ordinances designed Bishope Lands for pay of 200000 l. Publick debt*: Yet by this, and the following Centuries, thou shalt see how both Delinquents Estates and Bishope Lands are by Members of Parliament shared amongst themselves, whilst the 200000 l. is unpaid, the publick affairs supported by unsupportable Taxes, and that *Dutch Devil Excise*, that insensibly devours the poor, and will impoverish the rich.

These are they that with *Hananiah, break the wooden yoke from our neck*, (28 Jeremiah) and put on one of Iron; free us from a little *Skip-money* paid thrice in an Age, and impose as much at once for a *Monthly Tax*; quit us of the *Monopolies of Tobacco*, and set up *Excise on Bread and Beer*: The first easeth the wanton rich man, and the latter grindeth the needy and poor. Yet *these are thy Gods of London!* these are the Idol Calves the People have set up and do worship: these be the *Molec* to whom ye sacrifice Sons and Servants by Troops, Regiments, and Armies, to maintain their *sovereignty, rebellion, and profit*.

And that these and other their Actions may never be questioned, they *His Majesties loyal and obedient Subjects*, will always *Imprison* their King, *continue* their Army, *perpetuate* their Parliament, and *install* their Memberships (as the Priesthood on Levi) upon confiding Families, to furnish them with Votes, as Mr. Gilbert Gerrard and his 2. Sons, Brampton Guidon and his 2. Sons, Sir Robert Harley and his 2. Sons, 3 Fines, 2 Aches, 4 Stephens, 4 Pelhams, 4 Herberts, 4 Temples; it were endless to name the Father and the son, Brother and Brother that fills the House; they come in couples more than unclean Beasts to the Ark: 2 Vans, 2 Purves, 2 Chalones, 2 Bacons, 2 Pierpoints, 2 Bonds, 2 Onslowes, 2 Lenthals, &c. And that our Ecclesiasticks may comply with our *Temporal Governors*. the Houses abolish (as superstitious because Legal) the Convocat-

on of learned Divines, (regularly summoned by the King's Writ, and duly elected by the Clergy) and the House of Commons nominates an assembly of gifted Divines (indeed wicked Simons) & that slander the Godly Onias, (2. Mac. 4) to ouer him of his Priest's place; so that at this day there is not one Assembly-man but is illegally thrust into another's B. n. fice, a Catalogue of whose names and Preferments expect shortly, and with them a view of the *Militia* and *Common-Council-men* of *London*, observing what Places, Offices and salaries they have from the Houses of Parliament, and then thou wilt know the reasons of their Votes and Actions in the City.

You see in part what the Grandees have done for themselves. Consider after 8 years sitting what they have done for the people, when amongst all their Propositions to the King for *Peace*, hardly any one respects the *good of the People*, but their own *grandeur and profit*. They demand a *Militia* to keep up this Army upon us, which is not the Kings to give. No King of *England* ever governed by a standing Army. They demand likewise power to raise *what Forces for Land and Sea*, consisting of *what Persons they please to press*; and to raise *what money to maintain them out of all mens Estates*, to be laid on at their discretion, and as partially as they please, so that they may favour one Faction, and oppresse the other at pleasure; for, so much the Act for the *Militia* as it is penned imports: and this is more than his Majesty hath power to grant. The late *Militia* of Trained Bands, and the *Posse Comitatus* under *Sheriffs* (being the only legal *Militia of England*) will not serve their turnes. It hath always been the Policy of *England*, to trust the *Militia* and *Sword* in one hand (*viz. the KING'S*) and the Purse that should pay them in another (*viz. the PARLIAMENTS*) whereby one power might bound and limit the other. For to put the *Sword* and the *Purse* into one hand, is to make that hand absolute Master of our Persons and Estates, and so reduce us to absolute slavery under the Arbitrary power of one man, without appeal or redresse. *Awake and look about you good People.*

THE END.